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CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

FRONT PAGE

BULGARIA

Paper Reports on Plight of Dniester Bulgarians *[BTA]* 2
Assembly Adopts Appeals *[Sofia Radio]* 2
Podkrepa Trade Union Strike Continues *[BTA]* 2
Podkrepa Leader Interviewed *[Sofia Radio]* 3
Vasilev Receives Trade Unions *[Sofia Radio]* 3
BSP Relations With Trade Unions Viewed *[DUMA 18 Jun]* 3
DUMA Reports on Balkan Intelligence Services *[BTA]* 5
Personnel Changes in Defense Ministry Viewed *[BULGARSKA ARMIYA 17 Jun]* 5
Cabinet Adopts Export-Import Regulations *[BTA]* 6
Former Communist Leaders Questioned During Trials *[BTA]* 6

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

President Addresses Federal Parliament *[Prague TV]* 7
Assembly To Declare Sovereignty in July *[CSTK]* 9
Kovac Elected Chairman of Federal Assembly *[Prague Radio]* 9
Chairmen Elected for House of Nations, People *[CSTK]* 10
CSTK Profiles New Chairmen *[CSTK]* 10
Sedivy Elected Federal Assembly Deputy Chairman *[CSTK]* 11
Biography of New Slovak Parliament Chairman *[CSTK]* 11
New Slovak Parliament Deputy Chairmen Elected *[CSTK]* 11
New Slovak Parliament Vice Chairmen Profiled *[CSTK]* 11
EC Officials Concerned About Future of State *[CSTK]* 12

POLAND

Prime Minister To Present Government on 1 July *[Warsaw Radio]* 13
Pawlak Optimistic After Talks With Small Coalition *[Warsaw Radio]* 13
Small Coalition Leaders Comment on Talks *[Warsaw Radio]* 13
Democratic Left Dissatisfied With Pawlak *[Warsaw Radio]* 14
Zych, Wachowski Testify Before Sejm Committee *[PAP]* 14

ROMANIA

Various Groups View Situation in Moldova 15
FSN on Moldova, Unification *[Bucharest Radio]* 15
PUNR on Moldova, Presidency *[Bucharest Radio]* 15
Patriarch Pleads for Observers *[ROMPRES]* 15
Air Transportation With Moldova Initialed *[ROMPRES]* 15

BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA

Serbs, UN Force Agree on Artillery Location *[Belgrade TV]* 16
2 Doctors in UN Convoy Injured by Snipers *[TANJUG]* 16
Karadzic Issues Statement on Sarajevo Cease-Fire *[TANJUG]* 16

CROATIA

UNPROFOR Soldier Wounded in Mortar Attack *[TANJUG]* 17
Six-Truck Convoy, UNPROFOR Escort Disappear *[Zagreb Radio]* 17
President Views Intervention in Bosnian Conflict *[Paris LE FIGARO 25 Jun]* 17

SLOVENIA

Kucan Interviewed on Independence Anniversary *[Cologne Radio]* 20
Former Premier Criticizes Drnovsek Government *[SLOVENEC 17 Jun]* 21
IMF Delegation Visits, Gathers Information *[DELO 5 Jun]* 21
Import Duty on Equipment, Raw Materials Reduced *[DELO 5 Jun]* 21

YUGOSLAVIA

Federal

New Yugoslav President's Life Chronicled *[BORBA]* 23
Sandzak, JNA Leaders Discuss Situation *[POLITIKA 13 Jun]* 23

Serbia

Milosevic, Lord Carrington Hold Talks in France *[Belgrade Radio]* 24
Milosevic Interviewed *[Belgrade TV]* 25
Milosevic Proposes Confederation With Greece *[TANJUG]* 26
Assembly Holds 'Polemical' Debate on Government *[Belgrade Radio]* 26
Radical Party President on Call for Demonstrations *[Belgrade Radio]* 27
'Dissatisfied' Deputies To Withdraw From SPS *[TANJUG]* 28
Effect of Sanctions on Health Services 'Dramatic' *[POLITIKA 13 Jun]* 28

Kosovo

Serbian Police Leave Pristina Islamic Seminary *[Tirana Radio]* 29

Yugoslavia

Serbia—Lord Carrington, chairman of the Conference on Yugoslavia, met with President Milosevic in France. The discussions were "primarily about issues concerning the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina." Responding to demands to recognize Bosnia-Hercegovina, Milosevic "stressed in particular: Our principled stand is that this can be done after the end of the dialogue between the three ethnic communities in that republic..." and that the FRY "will accept all solutions found through the consensus between Muslims, Serbs, and Croats."

Bulgaria

BTA carries further reportage on the Moldova situation contained in a TRUD interview with Minko Stoyanov, editor-in-chief of the RODNO SLOVO newspaper published in Moldova. Stoyanov said, "In the last few days MiG-29 fighters bombed several population centres, including the village of Parkani with a predominant Bulgarian population." He noted, "Five Bulgarians were killed and 15 were injured in the bombing."

BTA reports that the Podkrepa Trade Union strike is continuing for the fourth day. The government "agreed" to introduce the trade union's bid for participation—with "equal footing"—in the National Council on Social Partnership. BTA adds that the Varna-based State Shipping Inspectorate "joined" the strike today, but the inspectorate's leadership and the Strike Committee have decided in a "preliminary agreement" that port navigation "should not be blocked."

Poland

Warsaw radio reported on 26 June that a spokesman for Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak announced plans to present "the full composition" of his government at the Sejm session beginning on 1 July. Although, according to Warsaw radio, Pawlak "avoided answering questions regarding the filling of posts in particular ministries" at a 25 June news conference, he did confirm that "he sees no need for changes" in the Ministries of Defense and Foreign Affairs.

Czechoslovakia

In a 25 June address to parliament carried by Prague television, President Vaclav Havel welcomed the recent Czech-Slovak agreement to "strive for a decision on the state's future by 30 September" but contended that the "only existing constitutional way of dividing the state" is through a referendum. Havel added that his "feeling of responsibility to all citizens orders" him to "remind" the parliament "again and again" that a referendum is the "most democratic and most moral" method of deciding the future of the state.

According to CSTK, Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar told journalists on 23 June that the new Slovak parliament "will declare sovereignty sometime in July and adopt a Slovak constitution in August." Meciar also contended, however, that sovereignty was not the same as independence and that it is not yet time "to write the funeral oration for Czechoslovakia."

Paper Reports on Plight of Dniester Bulgarians

AU2506115892 Sofia BTA in English 0845 GMT 25 Jun 92

[Text] Sofia, June 25 (BTA)—A total of 88,000 Bulgarians in Moldova have been affected by the escalation of tensions in the Republic. In this connection today's TRUD has talked with Minko Stoyanov, editor-in-chief of the RODNO SLOVO newspaper published in Moldova.

In the last few days MiG-29 fighters bombed several population centres, including the village of Parkani with a predominant Bulgarian population. It is probably the biggest Bulgarian village in Europe with a population between 10,000 and 15,000, Mr. Stoyanov says. Five Bulgarians were killed and 15 were injured in the bombing. Ten houses were destroyed. In the evening when the attack was launched, there was a party at the school and some students were killed.

The Bulgarian Government issued a declaration on June 23 expressing alarm and serious concern over the situation in the Trans-Dniester region. This is not the first official Bulgarian reaction. In March the Bulgarian Foreign Ministry expressed its concern over the fighting and loss of life in the region and stressed the Bulgarian position that goodwill and dialogue should prevail in seeking a solution to the complicated problems in the region and that the law and the interests of all nationalities should be respected.

Assembly Adopts Appeals

AU2506195492 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 25 Jun 92

[Text] On 25 June, at the end of its session, the National Assembly adopted an appeal to the Parliaments of Moldova, Romania, Russia, and Ukraine.

The National Assembly members are seriously alarmed by the developments, the appeal reads. The National Assembly expects the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova to exercise its fullest authority to guarantee the security of the Bulgarian population in this region and resolve the conflict by peaceful means.

The Bulgarian National Assembly members appeal to the Parliaments of Romania, Russia, and Ukraine with the hope that they will unite their efforts to finally resolve the conflict in this region.

Podkrepa Trade Union Strike Continues

AU2606092092 Sofia BTA in English 2019 GMT 25 Jun 92

[Text] Sofia, June 25 (BTA)—The strike of the Podkrepa National Trade Union continues for a fourth day today. The trade union demands to be included in the social partnership scheme. The negotiations between the Strike Committe and the deputy prime minister, Nikola Vasilev, who is in charge of the government's relations with the trade unions, failed to reach any agreements today. The government however agreed to introduce the trade union's bid for participation on equal footing to the National Council on Social Partnership for further discussions.

The Varna-based State Shipping Inspectorate joined the strikers today. The inspectorate's leadership and the Strike Committee have decided in a preliminary agreement that port navigations should not be blocked.

The leader of the Regional Podkrepa National Trade Union at the Maritsa-Iztok Thermo-Electric Power Station, Mr. Georgi Ivanov today has warned that in case no agreements are reached between the government and the Strike Committee by tomorrow, part of the staff will join the strike, too.

The ports in Varna and Ruse are on a strike as well. The leadership of the Ruse port complex has estimated direct losses to be 350,000 leva. But the Khimko Company alone loses 5 million leva daily due to the strike in Varna.

Dr. Konstantin Trenchev, leader of the Podkrepa Labour Confederation, from which the Podkrepa National Trade Union recently broke away, told the press today in connection to the strikers' demand that only trade union elections could indicate the representativity of individual trade-union amalgamations and their memberships. The National Council on Social Partnership is expected to discuss the procedure for the conduct of trade union elections by the year's end.

Leaders of the Nikola Petkov Agrarian Party expressed at a press conference today their anxiety at the country's economic situation. Party experts have worked out a complete analysis of the parliament's economic activities. Their general assessment is positive on the whole but the Agrarian Party is however worried at the "insufficient care for the country's agriculture."

The problems of Bulgarian agriculture will be discussed in a Bulgarian-Dutch seminar which opened in Varna today. The deputy minister of agricultural development, land use and land restitution, Mr. Nikola Nikolov is to attend the seminar.

The members of the National Assembly Committee on Culture accused today the minister of culture, Mrs. Elka Konstantinova of lacking interest in the problems of culture-related legislation. Mrs. Konstantinova reminded in a joint meeting today that a total of nine bills connected to the Bulgarian culture had been waiting their turn in parliament for a long time. She also insisted on a three-year moratorium on the restitution of buildings of cultural significance.

The deputy prime minister and minister of education, Mr. Nikola Vasilev attended the first national conference of rectors of high- educational establishments which opened in Gabrovo (central Bulgaria) today. The minister laid out the problems and prospects of high education in the country. No radical reform is possible until

the disproportions in high education committed in the years of totalitarianism are all cleared out. There are 36 high schools and over 50 colleges in Bulgaria at the moment which devaluates high education, it was pointed out at the conference.

The National Assembly Committee on Radio and Television began discussing today the bill concerning the country's radio and television. This bill is expected to regulate the problems of production and broadcasting of radio and television programmes.

The Supreme Court today considered Patriarch Maksim's litigation against the Directorate on Religious Faiths. Following the registration of the Holy Synod's new members, Patriarch Maksim approached the Supreme Court to rule on the legitimacy of the directorate's decision and decide whether it meant a state interference into internal affairs of the Orthodox Church. The court's ruling will be pronounced on July 2.

The deadline for the presentation of the design for Bulgaria's state coat of arms was extended to August 10. The seven-member jury believes none of the 16 projects presented so far deserved their approval as none of them observe the heraldic requirements.

Podkrepa Leader Interviewed

AU2506164092 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 24 Jun 92

[Report by Petur Donchev on interview with Dr. Konstantin Trenchev, chairman of Podkrepa Labor Confederation at Council of Ministers headquarters, in Sofia on 25 June]

[Text] Good day, 45 minutes ago we expected the opening of a meeting between a delegation of the Podkrepa National Trade Union's Strike Committee, several members of the trade union's leadership, and Nikola Vasilev, deputy prime minister.

The meeting has not started for some unknown reason, and I presume it has been delayed. I would like to announce that we, the reporters present at the Council of Ministers headquarters, took advantage of the delay to interview Dr. Konstantin Trenchev, chairman of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation, asking him to explain his attitude toward the participation of the Podkrepa National Trade Union in the National Council of Social Partnership.

Dr. Trenchev answered: If they should be admitted, we would come back to the situation of the roundtable talks following 10 November 1989. I could also propose that we should accept representatives of the two mufti's offices and of the two synods, then the picture would be full. If one follows this trend of thought it would mean decisions must be reached with consensus, Dr. Trenchev pointed out. Therefore, no one could resolve the problem in advance.

As a matter of fact, also Mr. Nikolay Vasilev, deputy prime minister, declared that by accepting the demand of the Podkrepa National Trade Union that we, as a government, should defend their interests at the National Council of Social Partnership, we would ruin an institution which was created with so much effort.

It is a question of principle. Both Mr. Vasilev and Dr. Trenchev are convinced that only trade union elections can resolve the problem of who is who, and not of who should represent whom.

Vasilev Receives Trade Unions

AU2506201392 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 25 Jun 92

[Text] On 25 June Deputy Prime Minister Nikola Vasilev, in charge of the dialogue between the government and the trade unions, held two consecutive meetings.

The chairman of the Neftokhim Trade Union at the Podkrepa Labor Confederation handed him a memorandum containing five proposals for resolving the problems at the Neftokhim Company. The meeting was attended by Konstantin Trenchev, chairman of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation.

Mr. Nikola Vasilev accepted the proposals with the qualification that they must be analyzed before they are submitted to a meeting of the Council of Ministers. The Neftokhim representatives undertook the obligation to explain within one week the motives behind each of the proposals.

Deputy Prime Minister Nikola Vasilev's second meeting was with representatives of the Podkrepa National Trade Union. Agreement was reached on 4 items, while the fifth was rejected. therefore, the document that was signed, was called a protocol, rather than an agreement.

The government agreed with the variant on resolving the strike that was presented yesterday by the Podkrepa National Trade Union, however, the trade union submitted a new variant today, which, as Mr. Nikola Vasilev said, envisages the actual continuation of the strike after signing the agreement.

BSP Relations With Trade Unions Viewed

AU2606094492 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 18 Jun 92 p 4

[Interview with Anton Grigorov, member of the Bulgarian Socialist Party Supreme Council Executive Bureau, by Ekaterina Nikolova; place and date not given: "The Party Is Reconsidering Its Trade Union Policy, Searching for a New Approach to the Trade Union Centers"]

[Text] [Nikolova] Mr. Grigorov, the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] Supreme Council is expected to hold a plenum devoted to the BSP trade union policy by the end of June 1992. Why is the Socialist Party so late in

devoting its attention to the trade unions, having waited for as long as two years to do so?

[Grigorov] It is true that we are late, but it is also true that every BSP leadership forum over the last two, three years discussed trade union issues to a certain extent. Unfortunately, however, since 10 November 1989, the BSP leading organs found time for all other sorts of socio-political problems, but the trade unions were somewhat neglected.

Nevertheless, our timid attempts at establishing friendly relations with the trade unions, and with the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria [KNSB], in particular, should not be denied. Unfortunately, however, the trade unions responded that it was too early to be associated with us, at the beginning, while, later on, they refused to cooperate for one reason or another. The truth is that the trade unions themselves did everything to isolate the BSP immediately following 10 November 1989.

[Nikolova] Do you think this could be one of the reasons the Socialists lost the last parliamentary elections?

[Grigorov] I would not say that this, precisely, was the reason for our defeat, despite the fact that the appeals launched by the KNSB on the eve of the elections certainly played a negative role.

[Nikolova] It would be normal for trade unions to cooperate with the opposition, rather than with the ruling polical forces. In our country, however, it is the other way around. Do you think the trade unions would consent to cooperate with the BSP under the current circumstances?

[Grigorov] If I were not convinced that such a chance existed, I would simply not assume this task at the BSP Executive Bureau, where I am in charge of the party's relations with trade unions. Naturally, I find certain things disturbing, such as for example, the manner in which the KNSB treated its leaders who were BSP members. Such people were either forced to freeze their party membership or to resign from their positions.

[Nikolova] It appears that the other trade unions have similiar claims....

[Grigorov] Yes, this is the reason the forthcoming BSP Supreme Council Plenum will not be devoted exclusively to our relations with the KNSB. We are striving for cooperation with the Podkrepa Labor Confederation, with the "Business" National Economic Trade Union, and with the National Trade Unions.

[Nikolova] Do you expect any positive answer from Plamen Darakchiev's trade union, which is advertizing its affiliation with the Union of Democratic Forces, or with the Podkrepa Labor Confederation, which does not conceal its anticommunist feelings? Podkrepa recently even refused to cooperate with the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party [BSDP].

[Grigorov] It is very difficult for me to answer your question, because so far we have not had any official meetings with the leading staffs of the trade union organizations in question. We intend to submit our views to them, and I presume they will do the same, after which we will discuss our problems. After all, a meeting does not mean a binding commitment.

[Nikolova] Does the BSDP intend to seek other forms of cooperation with the trade unions, apart from "exploratory" talks?

[Grigorov] Two discussions at experts level, devoted to the party's current trade union policy, were organized at the initiative of the BSP Supreme Council Executive Bureau over the last month. Debates on the same subject are also under way within the Executive Bureau, which already has adopted its own view on the trade union issue. The fact that we are not publicizing this view is motivated by our unwillingness to risk a relapse into the old habits of deciding at a top level what should be done and how it should be done. The documents on the aforementioned discussions will be submitted to the forthcoming BSP plenum, which is expected to publish a resolution on the BSP's future approach to the trade unions. The documents in question will be made accessible to the trade union organizations.

[Nikolova] If, despite your good will and efforts, none of the trade unions should accept your outstretched hand, what would you do in the future?

[Grigorov] As a matter of fact, I am convinced that we should not simply resign ourselves to defeat and surrender. The BSP should return to its not too distant past, and base its work on trade union actions. I have Georgi Dimitrov's era and career in mind. We should not forget that his progress to the highest party echelons began with the trade union movement.

[Nikolova] Nevertheless, the situation is the other way around today. The party exists, but there is no trade union movement to support it.

[Grigorov] You are right, but we could even have recourse to the establishment of our own trade union. However, it should by no means be similar to the kind of trade union that existed prior to 10 November 1989.

[Nikolova] Do you see any real opportunity of success for a similar initiative?

[Grigorov] I am a born optimist and confident that the leaders of the existing trade union organizations can be convinced that the BSP has thoroughly changed. In such a case it would not be necessary to establish a new trade union.

[Nikolova] According to certain rumors, the so-called "Edinstvo" People's Trade Union is actually a BSP-affiliated trade union.

[Grigorov] People actually view "Edinstvo" as a "red" trade union. There is even more: According to unconfirmed rumors, aktivists of this trade union are touring the country, misinforming BSP members and supporters that they should join "Edinstvo" on a mass scale, at the alleged instruction of the BSP leadership. We recently learned that even the name of Zhan Videnov, our party's chairman, was exploited for the sake of consolidating this trade union.

All this does not correspond to the truth. The BSP Supreme Council and its Executive Bureau are not affiliated with "Edinstvo," which applies both to the organizational and financial aspects of the question. Neither written nor oral agreements exist between our two organizations. We are not standing behind this trade union. On the contrary, we are dissociating ourselves from its activities, and we have no intentions whatsoever of establishing contact with its leaders.

[Nikolova] Mr. Grigorov, is'nt the BSP leadership afraid that its decision to establish contacts with trade unions may be interpreted as a desperate attempt to rescue the party?

[Grigorov] This is by no means the reason for our initiative. The BSP does not need to be rescued, because, as everyone knows, the BSP has survived. It is a question of Bulgaria's survival, of the working people's social defense, and it is a question of protecting thousands of competent people who were dismissed from their jobs for political reasons. I hope the trade unions will defend trade unioniosm, regardless of its political affiliation, because our country will never overcome the crisis without the help of qualified professionals.

DUMA Reports on Balkan Intelligence Services

AU2406091392 Sofia BTA in English 0728 GMT 24 Jun 92

[From the BTA "Press Review"]

[Excerpt] Sofia, June 24 (BTA)—The Balkan countries' Special Services have a solid presence in Bulgaria, DUMA, the paper of the former Communist Party, writes in its front-page highlights referring to a document drawn by a senior Bulgarian official whose name is not specified. According to the paper, the Turkish Intelligence Service has agents among the members of the Bulgarian National Assembly. Besides the residents working under diplomatic cover, the regional coordinators of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms, mayors, secretaries and city council members, journalists and private businessmen are also said to have become agents of the Turkish Intelligence Service. It seems to pay special attention to retired or dismissed employees of the Bulgarian Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Defence who started work at companies and organizations which have contacts with Turkey. It is mentioned in the document, DUMA writes, that Greece's National Information Service and its intelligence are well represented in Bulgaria too. Greek espionage appears to be interested mainly in Bulgaria's foreign policy and the development of its positions on the problem of Macedonia and the Yugoslav crisis in particular. Though the Federation of Yugoslavia disintegrated, Bulgaria's western neighbour has continued its intelligence activity collecting military, political and economic information about this country, it was said in the document. The situation in the region of Blagoevgrad (Pirin Macedonia), the local structures of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization—Union of Macedonian Societies, the Ilinden United Macedonian Organization [UMO] and securing financial aid for the Ilinden UMO are said to be the main goals of the Yugoslav Intelligence Service. The purpose is to restore Macedonianism. The priorities of the Romanian Intelligence Service appear to be the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant, the military sphere and the situation of Wallachians in Bulgaria. DUMA says that the document, which covers the period November 1991-April 1992, is in its possession. [passage omitted]

Personnel Changes in Defense Ministry Viewed

AU2406184892 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 17 Jun 92 pp 1, 3

[Report by Major Georgi Vuchev: "Personnel Changes in Ministry of Defense"]

[Text] Mr. Emil Mingov, up to this time deputy minister of defense in charge of the legal-administrative bloc, has resigned. Mrs. Evelina Tsaneva, Mr. Dimitur Bongalov, formerly heads of respectively the Information and Culture Relations, and Social and Legal Policy Departments, and Mr. Daniel Vulchev, have also resigned at their own request. Mrs. Kristalina Grigorova no longer heads the Administrative Department, and the same applies to Mr. Veselin Barliev, former head of the Center on Strategic Studies, who was replaced by Mr. Rumen Kunchev. Major Aleksandur Aleksandrov, until recently head of the Legal Department and Senior Lieutenant Krasimir Uzunov from the Information and Culture Relations Department have been fired. Three of Mr. Dimitur Ludzhev's advisers—Anton Andonov, Miglena Ivanona, and Evka Razvigorova (respectively, a jurist, an international relations specialist, and an administrator) will also leave the ministry.

Professor Tikhomir Stanev, as deputy minister of defense, will monitor certain important fields and will coordinate the work of the ministers's cabinet and advisers. He also will be in charge of the legal-administrative bloc and the Personnel Policy Department. Soon he will take part in the regular briefings of the Ministry of Defense. Engineer Ivan Rakov will lead and Administrative Department, while the heads of the Legal Administration and Social Policy Departments have not been appointed yet.

All this was reported on 16 June at the briefing in the Sofia Army Club by Mr. Valentin Aleksandrov, state secretary at the Ministry of Defense. He explicitly pointed out that both Mr. Ludzhev and Mr. Staliyski have talked to those who left the ministry and tried to

change their mind. Mr. Aleksandrov thinks that loyalty to a minister must not come at the expense of loyalty to the state.

Answering questions, Mr. Aleksandrov said that certain parts of the recent statement of the Rakovski Bulgarian Officer Legion are justified in the sense that the officers are a part of the general difficult situation in which our people find themselves. Personally, he has excellent relations with the legion and shares the conviction that in many cases the officers contribute more than other social categories of working people, and in this respect, the state is in their debt. However, the state secretary pointed out that he does not see any chance of rapidly improving the situation. He stressed that for example, the deputy minister of defense has a lower salary than a payroll colonel, while the wages of the military publications reporters are three time lower than those of their colleagues from other newspapers.

Regarding certain articles about "deteriorating relations between the Ministry of Defense and the General Staff," Mr. Aleksandrov pointed out that the ministry has never questioned decisions of the General Staff, and vice versa. On the contrary, the work of the Supreme Military Council is characterized by its democratic character, openness, and sincerity. A consensus is sought on every issue on the agenda, and neither Mr. Ludzhev nor Mr. Staliyski have ever imposed their views from a position of force.

The state secretary at the Ministry of Defense doubts that Bulgaria's statesmen and politicians will have any significant remarks about the national security concept, (which will be discussed on 22 June by the Council of Ministers), however, he thinks that the draft bill on the defense and the Armed Forces will undergo certain changes.

Cabinet Adopts Export-Import Regulations

AU2506184592 Sofia BTA in English 1811 GMT 25 Jun 92

[Text] Sofia, June 25 (BTA)—The government today adopted the import and export regulations which will take effect on July 1 together with the new tariff schedule. Baby foods, farming machinery and spares, plant protection chemicals and fertilizers, medicinal preparations without a Bulgarian analogue, substances and auxiliary materials for pharmaceutical production will be imported duty free until December 31, 1992.

The government licensed the export of surplus feed grain which cannot be utilized due to the decreased demand for pork and poultry meat and the lack of a home market for this grain due to its high price. The export of feed grain and meal has so far been prohibited. Experts believe the country's fodder balance has been guaranteed now.

The Council of Ministers today discussed and approved a model for payment agreements between Bulgaria and the Central and East European states and Turkey. Reciprocal payments are to be effected in national currencies at a rate of exchange based on their U.S. dollar rates. The government approved a correspondent agreement between the National Bank of Bulgaria and those countries' central banks as a basis for negotiations. The government appointed the members of a delegation to hold these negotiations and sign the respective agreements.

The cabinet adopted a cultural cooperation agreement between Bulgaria and Poland. This agreement along with the Treaty on Friendly Relations and Cooperation will be signed during Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev's visit to Warsaw.

Former Communist Leaders Questioned During Trials

AU2506172492 Sofia BTA in English 1641 GMT 25 Jun 92

[Text] Sofia, June 25 (BTA)—Former communist leader Todor Zhivkov today was charged with the establishment of the forced labour camps at Lovech and Skravena. The ex-chief of the Communist Party and former head of state was summoned for questioning this morning by a military prosecutor, Major Ventsislav Teofilov, who is investigating evidence on the "death camps" case. Political opponents of the regime were confined for "corrective labour" without charge and trial to the Lovech and Skravena camps, set up in 1959.

The ex-number one, who is also on trial in connection with financial abuses, is under house arrest.

Another military prosecutor, Major Khitov, who is in charge of the case in connection with the forced assimilation campaign against ethnic Turks in the mid-80's, today questioned Petur Mladenov, foreign minister and Politburo member under Zhivkov and head of state after his ouster at the end of 1989. Mr. Mladenov has been charged with incitement to racial discrimination. "I bear absolutely no guilt and that is why I denied all responsibility," Mr. Mladenov told the press after the questioning. Todor Zhivkov and other former communist functionaries are also expected to be arraigned under this case.

The former Prime Minister Georgi Atanasov, who was arrested two months ago, today was familiarized with the evidence collected by the prosecuting authorities in connection with the investigation instituted against him. Mr. Atanasov and Stoyan Ovcharov, former minister of the economy and planning under Zhivkov, face charges of gross embezzlement in connection with the unwarranted diversion of over 200,000 leva from the public purse.

Grisha Filipov, a former prime minister and member of the top Communist Party leadership, long in charge of economy policy, and Georgi Yordanov, chairman of the committee for culture under Zhivkov, were questioned today in a witness capacity in connection with the case of the culprits for the economic catastrophe.

President Addresses Federal Parliament

LD2506171892 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech 1435 GMT 25 Jun 92

[Address by Federal President Vaclav Havel to Federal Parliament in Prague; introduced by Federal Assembly Chairman Michal Kovac—live]

[Text] [Kovac] Esteemed Federal Assembly, esteemed guests. May I sincerely welcome to the first joint meeting of both chambers of the Federal Assembly Mr. Vaclav Havel, president of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic. [applause]

We have constituted ourselves today, all organs of the highest legislative body, for the next election term. In this connection, as we informed you, the president asked to have the floor. With this I am giving the floor to him. Would you please, Mr. President.

[Havel] Mr. Chairman, lady deputies, gentlemen deputies, esteemed Federal Assembly! You are already the second highest legislative body of our federation, born as a result of free elections. It is my happy duty to congratulate you all on being elected. This time, politically, more profiled parties, movements, and coalitions were competing for votes than in previous elections. Voter turnout was very high again, the elections ran normally, and so you are a parliament whose democratic origin and legitimacy can be doubted by no one.

At the same time, you are a parliament which is politically rather polarized, where there are parties represented on the same scale but with very different program objectives, especially as far as our constitutional setup is concerned. Your work will therefore be more difficult, and the more sincere is my wish for you to become a working body, functional and productive, where a spirit of mutual understanding and a will to cooperate will prevail.

As we all know, an exceptionally complex political situation has been created following the elections. It is also reflected in the results achieved so far in the coalition talks aiming to form a federal government. Today a large question mark hangs over the fate of our federation. The previous parliaments, governments, and political representations have devoted a lot of effort to transforming our state into a truly democratic and just federation of two sovereign and equal republics joined by their own free will and by their own benefit, which identify themselves with this move as with its common creation. This effort has not led to success, and the election results are creating a situation of great uncertainty with regard to whether it is at all possible to build such a federation or if conversely the development is uncontrollably heading toward the division of today's Czechoslovakia into two independent states, each being a full subject of international law which, only after their birth or in the course of being born, will look for the best mutual links.

Allow me to share with you my views on this situation and on our next steps. First of all it is necessary that everyone remains aware that our federation exists, that nobody has abolished it so far, and that it will exist and must function normally until the final decision on whether it should continue to exist or should divide is made. It cannot be doubted that it has its supreme legislative assembly made up of you. You have been elected into the federal parliament and have taken the vow of faithfulness to the federal state and its constitution.

The federation has its federal president and in the nearest future will have, as I firmly believe, a new federal government. As soon as the present government resigns and as soon as the coalition partners agree on a new prime minister, I will ask that person to form a government. I shall weigh the proposal which he submits to me, and if I have no objections, I will immediately appoint the government. It will then depend on whether you will give the government your confidence.

Although this government will impose a time limit on its responsibilities, I will not perceive this government as some kind of liquidation or delimitation commission but as a complete Government of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic, which is obliged to fulfill all its constitutional functions. [applause]

As long as we are a federation we must have a fully functioning federal government. A liquidation or delimitation commission can be constituted only when it is decided in a constitutional manner that the federation is to be abolished. In such a case we actually must constitute the commission to ensure, in compliance with the respective parliamentary decrees, the smooth transfer of all the powers of the federal government into the hands of the republican governments.

I do not think that our state can behave as if it existed and did not exist at the same time. It either is or is not. If it is, it must have all the essential attributes and orderly functioning institutions of legislative, executive, and judicial power.

The second point: I have welcomed the fact that coalition partners holding talks on a new federal government have set themselves a clear goal in their agreement—to strive for a decision on our state's future by 30 September. I share the view that the state of uncertainty cannot be prolonged forever and the sooner a decision is made the better. Every delay increases the unfortunate consequences of uncertainty, and the moral, economic, international-legal, and political consequences. The mere agony of a common state, its gradual collapse, or a wild breakup, would turn against all citizens.

The third point: I believe that if our state is to be divided it has to be be done in a constitutional, democratic, and civilized way. The only existing constitutional way of dividing the state is a referendum according to Paragraph 2, Article 1 of the relevant Constitutional Law.

This means holding a referendum on leaving the federation being declared in one or both of the republics at the same time. According to my firm conviction, this method is the most democratic and most moral because it provides an opportunity to all citizens to clearly answer a clearly stated question.

My feeling of responsibility to all citizens orders me to remind you of this again and again. If it is shown that this path cannot be implemented for various reasons, and if you, as the highest representative body of the federation, find another way to carry out the eventual split, and if this method can be embodied into our constitutional system, then if I am president I will respect your decision because I have promised to be loyal to the Constitution. Therefore it is my duty to respect all properly adopted constitutional principles. At the same time, I consider it my duty to defend the constitutional system as such and demand that others respect it too.

The third [as heard] point: If I agree with the personnel composition of the government which is to be formed by the designated prime minister, who will propose that I appoint it, and if its program contains what has been agreed upon in the coalition talks, I will appoint this government. The main reason for this for me will be the clear obligation that this government intends to continue all the extensive transformation processes begun in our country after November 1989. I personally feel internally linked to these processes, and I am sure that their continuation is in the interest of the majority of our citizens.

The fifth point: I always believed and still believe that it would be better for all citizens to live in a common state, even if its internal composition is different, than to live in two states which are rebuilding the complex system of their cooperation. Although it does not follow clearly from the elections that the majority of inhabitants of the Slovak Republic think the opposite, nevertheless I accept the results of these elections as the political reality of the greatest strength and seriousness and as a reality which has to be respected and which has its consequences.

One of the consequences of this reality is the fact that the State Policy Statement will allow the division of our state. If I recognize that the elections are the basis of democracy, then I must fully respect their consequences and everything following from them. Therefore, I understand the readiness of the government for a split as a legitimate consequence of the people's choice, and it is not an obstacle for me in appointing this government. However, I repeat that I will appoint this government as a normal and proper government of the Federation, which, although it is prepared for a possible split in the state, does not pressupose this decision by defining itself as a liquidation government. The citizens and parliaments elected by them—not the governments—make the decision about the basic issues of the state setup. The governments have the sole duty of implementing these decisions.

The sixth point: If Czechoslovakia decides to divide into two states, then this should be understood as a historical challenge to demonstrate that even such an operation can be done peacefully, on the basis of talks, in a legal manner, and without civil strife in an atmosphere of confrontation; that such a process can be managed wisely; that it need not necessarily mean a serious threat to the citizens of the country and become a dangerous source of instability throughout the region.

Whether it will be possible to respond to the historical challenge perceived in the way I am speaking about here will not be decided at a time when Czechoslovakia starts to divide de jure and de facto, but will be decided now. That is why I think all Czechs and Slovaks, all citizens of Czechoslovakia—that is the public, the mass media, and the politicians—should in this very complex time avoid anything that would impair even further the already tense situation in the country. That is all mutual invectives, unsubstantiated suspicions or accusations, and all expressions of intolerance, antagonism, hatred, or outrage. The measure of civility in the present public debates will predetermine the measure of civility in future political events, including the possible division of the state. If we take steps to spite one another, provoke one another, play nasty tricks, blackmail one another, and ruthlessly incriminate one another, we will all be losers without exception. The interest on our actions will be so high that we will not stop to wonder.

In other words, I recommend that all citizens approach the problems ahead of our country objectively, wisely, patiently, and calmly. It is a serious and deep historical process which has thousands of complex angles and which will be possible to research and understand in detail only with the passage of time. This is not mere wrangling, and we would do ourselves much damage if we were to turn this into such wrangling by our words and deeds. The matters at stake are too serious for us to solve them madly.

We are now deciding how the Czech and Slovak Republics cooperate in future years in case of a division, how they will manage to link up to all the good things which the history of our coexistence so far has brought, and how they manage to avail themselves of all the bonds joining them today for the benefit of both sides. Maybe we really must divide if we are to join again. The wisdom with which we carry out the first will predetermine the quality of the second.

Ladies and gentlemen, esteemed Federal Assembly, let me conclude with a few sentences about myself, since after the last elections I have become—to my great displeasure—one of the subjects of political conflicts, sometimes even confrontations. My lifelong civic and public activities—which two and a half years ago led to me being entrusted with the supreme political office in our state—have been and continue to be inseparably linked to several values, ideals, or simply inner urges which I would like to recall.

Above all it is an elementary feeling of sharing responsibility for the state of the world and common matters. This shared responsibility is not in its deepest sense limited by the outlines of a state, nation, or certain political group; it is simply shared responsibility for the human fate. I do believe in the moral origins of politics as a service to our fellow beings. I do believe in the moral roots of any purposeful human coexistence on earth. I do believe in civic values and civic community. I do believe in human freedom. I do believe in democracy. I do believe in the sense of matter of fact discussion and understanding of another person and in the fundamental significance of goodwill and decency in civic life. I do believe in spiritual, cultural, and civilization plurality of the world and in the plurality of humanity. I do believe in the necessity of global cooperation at a time when the world is under a global threat. I do believe in economic plurality, in a market economy. I do believe in human solidarity and in the necessity of a reasonable and just social state policy. I do believe in decentralization and self-administration. I do believe in human rights, and whatever I do I attempt to strive to have them observed.

This is me and I will not be changed.

I have been defeated a thousand times in my life but I have never given up, and it has always been more important to me whether I stick to the truth and my principles than whether I am accepted or rejected. I would contradict myself and my lifelong orientation if I were to abandon any of the values I believe in and if I were to stop fighting for any of them now and again. This is why today I do not feel any reason at all to give up anything, to withdraw from the scene only because somebody whistles at me, to surrender only because I may be facing the possibility of another defeat, or to abandon the ship only because it is rocking. [applause]

I have said several times that I do not intend to desert my fellow citizens. Thus I offer my services in the future. As long as the Federation exists I do not see any reason why I should not offer my services in the spirit of the ideals in which I believe. If a decision is made to the effect that our Federation is no longer to exist, then I am not going to be engaged in liquidating it. I have always preferred to create something rather than to destroy something. In such a case I am prepared to offer my services where an interest in them is shown and where I can contribute toward building something new [applause], for instance toward creating a new type of Czech-Slovak coexistence and cooperation.

I do believe in the good sense of our common state. Nevertheless, this is not the supreme value for me, as no state is the supreme value for me; for me the supreme value is always a human being and human community. I am always prepared to serve them.

Thank you for your attention.

Assembly To Declare Sovereignty in July

AU2506151892 Prague CSTK in English 1249 GMT 23 Jun 92

[Text] Bratislava June 23 (CSTK)—HZDS [Movement For a Democratic Slovakia] Chairman Vladimir Meciar told journalists here that the new Slovak parliament, which opened today, will declare Slovakia's sovereignty sometime in July and adopt a Slovak Constitution in August.

Meciar said he does not consider sovereignty and independence to be the same thing, adding that it is not necessary "to write the funeral oration for Czechoslovakia".

At its opening session, the parliament elected HZDS delegate Ivan Gasparovic as parliament chairman by a vote of 124 to 24. Gasparovic was Czechoslovak prosecutor general from July 1990 to March 1992.

Kovac Elected Chairman of Federal Assembly

LD2506151792 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1300 GMT 25 Jun 92

[Stanislav Benda report from the Federal Assembly building]

[Text] The constituent session of both Chambers, chaired by Alexander Dubcek, began shortly after 1400. Deputies first agreed that clubs and committees would prepare, before the next joint session, the setting up of a Commission for Human Rights and National Minorities and also parliamentary commissions for agriculture.

Since 1439 the new Parliament has its new chairman. According to the coalition agreement, the only candidate for this post—HZDS [Movement for Democratic Slovakia] representative Michal Kovac was elected. No one voted against, two deputies from the Chamber of Nations and three from the Chamber of the People abstained.

The new chairman expressed confidence that the parliament would work on creating good relations between both our republics, and thanked the previous leadership of the Federal Assembly for their participation in adopting new laws which have laid foundations for all the changes in the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic. He said that the gradual changes in the state arrangement would continue in harmony with the social and historic development.

No matter what the result of talks between Civic Democratic Party and Movement For a Democratic Slovakia will be, this must not disturb the coexistence of our nations, which have never been in a serious conflict. Our relations have to continue developing closely, we must not forget our common history, the struggle against fascism, the fate we had in common under the totalitarian regime. We should not reproach each other for one paying more than the other. Misunderstandings between

us have been created also as a result of an information barrier, but let us not look for other misunderstandings and disputes. Let us look for that which has linked and links us, the new chairman of the parliament, Michal Kovac, said.

He also said that in the parliament, deputies should be businesslike and constructive, and even if it is difficult for them to find consensus, their joint work should always take into account the fact that the history of the nations goes back to Cyril and Methodius, and above all should look to the future. Our nations cannot move somewhere else; they will always live next to each other and will have to cooperate. Parliament should be not only the highest but also the most respected body in the state. Thus, deputies have to respect each other, above all, and be an example in cooperation and in mutual respect. The opposition, according to Mr. Kovac, should cooperate with the coalition, and should not be its enemy. The well-being of the population should be the common interest.

Disputes about the state set-up should not lead to reduction of tolerance, respect and mutual understanding. Respect for democracy and human rights have to be of top priority and must always win, Michal Kovac, the new chairman of the Federal Assembly, said. He has just finished his address.

The parliament is now electing its deputy chairmen.

Chairmen Elected for House of Nations, People

LD2506143192 Prague CSTK in English 1125 GMT 25 Jun 92

[Text] Prague June 25 (CSTK)—Roman Zelenay, deputy from the HZDS [Movement For a Democratic Slovakia], was elected to the post of chairman of the House of Nations in the Federal Assembly (parliament) at the chamber's constituent meeting today.

Zelenay's candidacy was supported by 144 of deputies present at the meeting, while three abstained.

KDS [Christian Democratic Party] Chairman Vaclav Benda was elected to the post of chairman of the House of the People in the Federal Assembly at the chamber's constituent meeting today. Of the deputies present, 118 voted in favour of Benda's candidacy, 21 were opposed and 10 abstained.

The House of Nations elected 20 deputies to the Federal Assembly Presidium, according to agreements between the parliamentary parties. Presidium members from the Czech Republic consist of five deputies from the ODS-KDS, two from the Left Bloc (LB), and one each from the KDU-CSL [Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party], SPR-RSC [Assembly for the Republic-Czechoslovak Republican Party], and CSSD [Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party].

Deputies elected in the Slovak Republic who were elected to the Presidium are four from the HZDS, two from the SDL [Democratic Left Party] and one each from the KDH [Christian Democratic Movement], SNS [Slovak National Party], MKDH-Egyutteles [Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement-Egyutteles], and SDSS [Social Democratic Party in Slovakia]. (The SDSS representative is former parliament chairman Alexander Dubcek)

The House of the People also elected twenty deputies to the presidium. There are six deputies from the ODS-KDS, three from the HZDS, three from the Left Bloc (LB), and one each from the SDL, KDU-CSL, SPR-RSC, SNS, KDH, MKDH-Egyutteles, LSU [Liberal Social Union] and CSSD.

CSTK Profiles New Chairmen

LD2506150192 Prague CSTK in English 1243 GMT 25 Jun 92

[Text] Prague June 25 (CSTK) - Vaclav Benda, elected chairman of Czechoslovak Parliament House of the People today, was born August 3, 1946, in Prague. He graduated in philosophy from Prague Charles University, where he worked in 1969-1970 as a lecturer. He also graduated in theoretic cybernetics from Charles University and in 1975-1977 worked as a mathematician. After having signed the Charter-77, he was dismissed from this job and worked as a stoker. In May, 1979 he was arrested for his activities in the Committee in Defence of the Unjustly Persecuted (VONS) and sentenced to four years imprisonment. He was freed in 1983. He took part in illegal church activities and in 1983 he co-founded the Movement for Civic Freedom.

In 1989 he was a leading representative of the Civic Forum (OF) and in December became chairman of the Christian Democratic Party. During the past election term he worked in the Federal Parliament Presidium. Benda is proposed as a candidate for deputy chairman of the federal parliament.

Roman Zelenay, elected the chairman of the Czechoslovak Parliament House of Nations today, was born April 8, 1952 in Bratislava. In 1976 he graduated in pharmacy from Comenius University in Bratislava and worked there for two years as a lecturer. In 1978-1983 he worked as an internal post-graduate at the faculty of natural sciences of Comenius University. In 1984-1986 he worked as a lecturer at the pharmaceutical faculty of Comenius University. From 1986 to 1990 he was jobless. He also worked as an athletic coach of juniors (1970-1984) and as an interpreter (1978-1991).

After the split of the Public Against Violence movement (OPN) in 1991 he became a member of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS). From October 1990 to June 1991 he was Slovak deputy minister for international relations. In this year's June elections he was elected deputy to the House of Nations in the Federal Assembly (parliament) for HZDS. Zelenay is proposed as a candidate for deputy chairman of the federal parliament.

Sedivy Elected Federal Assembly Deputy Chairman

LD2506153192 Prague CSTK in English 1405 GMT 25 Jun 92

[Text] Prague June 25 (CSTK)—Filip Sedivy of the ODS [Civic Democratic Party] was today elected first deputy chairman of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly (parliament).

In the 150-seat House of Nations, Sedivy was supported by 143 out of the 144 present deputies. In the 150-seat House of the People, he was approved by 145 out of the full house present.

Biography of New Slovak Parliament Chairman

AU2506151692 Prague CSTK in English 1622 GMT 23 Jun 92

[Text] Bratislava June 23 (CSTK)—Ivan Gasparovic of the HZDS [Movement For a Democratic Slovakia], elected today chairman of the Slovak National Assembly (parliament), was born on March 27, 1941, in Poltar, Central Slovakia, to a teacher's family.

He graduated from the Comenius (Komensky) University Faculty of Law in Bratislava and in 1964 started to work at the District Prosecutor's Office in Martin, Central Slovakia. Between 1965 and 1968 he was a prosecutor of the Bratislava City Prosecutor's Office.

In 1969 he started to lecture at the Department of Criminal Law, Criminology and Criminological Practice of the Comenius University Faculty of Law. His pedagogical and scientific work centred on criminal law and the law of criminal procedure. He became associate professor after some time.

In February 1990, after the fall of communist rule in late 1989, Gasparovic was appointed vice-rector of Comenius University. From July 1990 to March 1992 he was Czechoslovakia's prosecutor general and later returned to the Comenius University Faculty of Law.

New Slovak Parliament Deputy Chairmen Elected

AU2506152692 Prague CSTK in English 1700 GMT 23 Jun 92

[Text] SNS [Slovak National Party] Chairman Jozef Prokes and HZDS [Movement For a Democratic Slovakia] Deputy Chairman Augustin Marian Huska were elected today as the remaining two deputy chairmen of the Slovak parliament. The vote in both cases was 113 to 32.

Elected as chairmen of the parliament's committees and at the same time members of its Presidium were five deputies for the HZDS, two for the SDL [Party of the Democratic Left], and one each for the SNS, and the KDH [Christian Democratic Movement].

Arpad Duka Zolyomi of the MKDH-ESWS [Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement-Egyutteles] coalition, who was proposed as chairman of the Environmental Committee, was turned down in a vote of 43-103.

MKDH Chairman Vojtech Bugar later said it was a breach of a political agreement under which the coalition's representative was to head this committee.

"It is obvious that the political agreement applies in only one direction and not vice-versa", he said.

Zolyomi's non-election was called a breach of the political agreement also by [Slovak National Council Chairman Ivan] Gasparovic who asked the coalition to propose a new candidate. The MKDH-ESWS put forward Ernoe Rosza who was then elected chairman of the Environmental Committee in a vote of 94 to 51.

The vote on the fifteenth presidium member, Pavel Hrusovsky of the KDH, is yet to take place.

New Slovak Parliament Vice Chairmen Profiled

LD2506153792 Prague CSTK in English 1309 GMT 25 Jun 92

[Text] Bratislava June 25 (CSTK)—Following are profiles of the first vice-chairman and the two vice-chairmen of the Slovak National Council (parliament), elected June 23:

Peter Weiss, the Slovak parliament first vice-chairman, was born July 7, 1952 in Bratislava. After graduating in adult education from the faculty of philosophy at Bratislava's Comenius University in 1975, he worked for the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Slovak Communist Party's Central Committee in Bratislava. In 1978 he finished his philosophy studies at the university.

From December 1990 he was secretary and later chairman of the Slovak Communist Party Executive Committee, and in October 1991 he became chairman of the Democratic Left Party (SDL). He was elected to the Slovak parliament both in 1990 and in 1992.

Jozef Prokes, Slovak parliament deputy chairman, was born June 12, 1950 in Nitra, West Slovakia. He graduated in natural sciences from Comenius University in Bratislava and worked from 1973 to 1982 at the Slovak Academy of Sciences' institute of physics. He then worked at an electronics plant until 1985 when he returned to the Academy of Sciences, where he remained until 1990.

After November 1989 he was active in rebuilding the trade unions in Slovakia and was the first chairman of the Independent Slovak Trade Unions.

Prokes was elected to the Slovak parliament for the Slovak National Party (SNS) in 1990 and in March 1991 became SNS chairman.

Augustin Marian Huska, deputy chairman of the Slovak parliament, was born September 9, 1929, at Hubova

near Liptovsky Mikulas, central Slovakia. He graduated from a four-year commercial school and in 1969 finished extramural studies at the Bratislava School of Economics.

He did research in cybernetics and automation, and after receiving his doctorate of technical sciences in 1990, he lectured at the Bratislava School of Economics. He has published several books on science.

Huska was elected to the Slovak parliament in 1990 for the VPN (Public Against Violence). From June 1990 to April 1991 he was Slovak minister for the administration and privatisation of national property. He is also vice-chairman of the HZDS [Movement for a Democratic Slovakia].

EC Officials Concerned About Future of State

AU2506143692 Prague CSTK in English 2103 GMT 22 Jun 92

[Text] Prague—Officials from the European Community (EC) countries' embassies in Czechoslovakia and the EC Commission Office in Czechoslovakia in a meeting today with Czechoslovak Deputy Foreign Minister Zdenko Pirek pointed out serious international law-related questions accompanying the ratification of Czechoslovakia's association agreement with the EC by the European Twelve's parliaments arising from Czechoslovakia's future state setup not being clear, the Federal Foreign Ministry told CSTK today.

Prime Minister To Present Government on 1 July

LD2606082292 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0800 GMT 26 Jun 92

[Text] Ryszard Miazek, spokesman for the prime minister, has announced that Waldemar Pawlak will present the full composition of his government at the Sejm session beginning on 1 July.

Pawlak Optimistic After Talks With Small Coalition

LD2506201392 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1700 GMT 25 Jun 92

[Passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[Text] After several rounds of talks during the day, which are still continuing with the Small Coalition [formed of the Democratic Union, Liberal Democratic Congress, and Polish Economic Program], Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak said at a news conference that the personnel proposals presented to him have already been 50 percent accepted. Everything indicates that talks on the subject will soon be finished.

"Today and tomorrow will pass; then the situation will be clear as to what formula we will accept for a government. We have received a very serious proposal from the Small Coalition which requires calm consideration. We want to adopt a government formula that will safeguard the interests of all coalition members and in which we will retain a certain balance regarding the functioning of the government so that there will not be situations where some groups are passed over or marginalized."

The prime minister also spoke to President Lech Walesa today.

"I talked to the president about the proposals put forward and about our proposals. The president is very clear here: In the political line-up there will simply have to be a final agreement."

Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak said that the talks with the Small Coalition did not close the question of constructing a government.

"Our proposal is open to those small groups, so that they can also participate in the frontline of the government, in those sectors which house their potential interests. I think that this is an opening for groups and for people who do not necessarily belong to any party but who are good managers or good professionals."

Waldemar Pawlak avoided answering questions regarding the filling of posts in particular ministries. He only admitted that he sees no need for changes in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ministry of National Defense, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and in the post of head of the Office of the Council of Ministers. Asked how he assesses the Small Coalition's proposal that Jacek Kuron and Jan Krzysztof Bielecki become deputy prime ministers, he replied:

"That is our guideline. We could have devised a slightly different construction in which the deputy prime minister for economic affairs would be a Polish Peasant Party representative and, for example, a Liberal Democratic Congress representative would take care of the social affairs sector while a Democratic Union representative would take care of the political affairs sector."

The prime minister expects to be able to make his expose at the next Sejm session and to table the composition of the government. He then intends meeting parliamentary floor groups to convince them of his program and personnel proposals.

Small Coalition Leaders Comment on Talks

LD2506230192 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 2100 GMT 25 Jun 92

[Text] Monika Olejnik has been talking to Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Democratic Union chairman, and Donald Tusk, chairman of the Congress of Liberal Democrats.

[Begin recording] [Olejnik] If Prime Minister Pawlak does not agree to your proposals, will you not go into the government, will you not support the government?

[Mazowiecki] There are various possibilities.

[Olejnik] What are the possibilities?

[Mazowiecki] [Words indistinct]

[Olejnik] Can you tell us in your own words?

[Mazowiecki] It depends on what the proposal is.

[Olejnik] If Prime Minister Pawlak does not agree to Mr. Bielecki as deputy prime minister, will Mr. Jacek Kuron go into the government as a deputy prime minister?

[Tusk] I suppose not. [words indistinct] [end recording]

[Announcer] Jacek Kuron said:

[Begin recording] I will not go into a government constructed on the principle of a collection of politicians from different groups, for in my opinion this is not to be taken seriously. [end recording]

[Announcer] Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak said:

[Begin recording] [Pawlak] If Mr. Bielecki is under consideration and Mr. Kuron, I would propose one more person so we have a certain balance in the line-up.

[Unidentified reporter] Your spokesman said you would look after the economy yourself.

[Pawlak] That is something that could also be considered. I think that if we apply certain principles for

constructing a government, they should be applied to all those extending support to that government. [end recording]

Democratic Left Dissatisfied With Pawlak

LD2506175292 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1700 GMT 25 Jun 92

[Text] A number of deputies from the Democratic Left Alliance made it clear today that everyone's expectations that they would support Waldemar Pawlak's government in every situation may turn out to be false. The Alliance is dissatisfied with the fact that the prime minister did not meet the floor group and that this group was passed over in talks in the Belweder.

Deputies from the Democratic Left Alliance are going to make a substantive assessment of the government's program and the distribution of posts, hoping that the party allegiance will not be the only criterion when filling the posts.

Zych, Wachowski Testify Before Sejm Committee

LD2506181792 Warsaw PAP in English 2257 GMT 24 Jun 92

[Text] Warsaw, June 24—Deputy Sejm (lower house) Speaker Jozef Zych said Wednesday that while adopting on May 28 the resolution on the disclosure of lists of former Secret Service (UB and SB) agents the chamber infringed its regulations.

Answering questions from the Sejm commission monitoring the implementation of the resolution Zych said the infringement consisted in preventing a general debate and answers to deputies questions.

However, this does not mean that the resolution is invalid, Zych declared.

The commission also questioned head of President Lech Walesa's office Mieczyslaw Wachowski who denied allegations that he had blackmailed former Interior Minister Antoni Macierewicz over the files. "This is a concoction of Macierewicz's exuberant imagination or pathological distrust," Wachowski charged while talking to reporters.

During the over two-hour questioning Wachowski handed over to the commission a letter from President Walesa. According to the commission's chairman Jerzy Ciemniewski the letter "gives a broader view of various aspects of the problem of supposed secret collaborators of SB security services" but "has no direct influence on the commission's work."

Wachowski declined to comment on the letter to reporters, and so did Presidential Spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski who was summoned before the commission on the same day. He said the contents of the letter was similar to that of a letter addressed by Walesa to Macierewicz on May 29, the day after the Sejm adopted the resolution on the files.

The head of the Sejm Chancellery Ryszard Stemplowski told the commission that the then Interior Minister Antoni Macierewicz had not consulted with the Sejm his decision to submit the material on alleged secret service agents on June 4.

Stemplowski said Macierewicz should have submitted the material to the Sejm Secret Chancellery and not to Stemplowski's secretariate.

The commission also questioned Wednesday two deputies of the Confederation for Independent Poland who had allegedly been blackmailed during a conversation with Macierewicz with a threat of exposing their party's leader Leszek Moczulski as a collaborator of communist secret police. The commission's chairman Jerzy Ciemniewski refused to confirm these facts.

Ciemniewski announced that the commission would question once again on Thursday former head of the State Protection Office (UOP) Piotr Naimski. On Friday, the commission is to hear the testimony of Zdislaw Najder, chief aide to former prime minister Jan Olszewski, and Janusz Korwin-Mikke, the author of the motion on adoption of secret files resolution. Former Interior Minister Antoni Macierewicz is also to appear again before the commission on Friday.

Former Acting Defence Minister Romulad Szeremietiew informed the commission in a letter addressed Wednesday that he would not be able to appear for the hearing on Friday and proposed July 1 as the date of his interview.

Meanwhile, Presidential Spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski announced that President Lech Walesa would take a legislative initiative regulating the matter of disclosure of secret service collaborators if parliamentary caucus fail to submit a relevant draft law.

Drzycimski declared he opted for such form of review of secret police files which would guarantee every person the right to defence and protection of reputation. "No lists containing allegations should be allowed to appear," he stressed.

The Sejm commission monitoring the implementation of the resolution on exposure of former secret service agents is expected to complete the hearings this week and start work on a final report next week.

Various Groups View Situation in Moldova

FSN on Moldova, Unification

AU2506165492 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1500 GMT 25 Jun 92

[Text] The leadership of the National Salvation Front [FSN] held its customary weekly meeting with the press this afternoon at the headquarters of this political formation.

The meeting was attended by Mrs. Elena Dumitru, vice president of the party and head of the Foreign Policy and Relations Department, and by Messrs. Ion Aurel Stoica, Eugen Dijmarescu, Ion Ardelean, and Corneliu (?Gavaliug).

On this occasion, the position of the National Salvation Front on the events in the Republic of Moldova was presented. Mr. Eugen Dijmarescu pointed out that the FSN is in favor of the unification of Bessarabia with Romania; however, this is not the problem of any one party, but a national problem that ought to unite all the moral and political forces in our country.

It was also stressed that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania is doing too little to make the serious situation in the Republic of Moldova known in the West.

Mrs. Elena Dumitru emphasized the fact that both the political parties and the press have to do more, so that international public opinion is being informed correctly on the events in Bessarabia, our reporter Tudor Stanciu informed us.

PUNR on Moldova, Presidency

AU2506170092 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1500 GMT 25 Jun 92

[Text] The Romanian National Unity Party [PUNR] held its weekly meeting with the press this afternoon at the Soroc Company Headquarters. On behalf of the PUNR leadership, the meeting was attended by Messrs. Radu Ceontea, senator; Petru Burca, deputy; and Cornel Brahas, spokesman. The main issues discussed during the news conference were the Russian aggression against Bessarabia and the coming general elections that will take us—as Mr. Petru Burca specified—to genuine political pluralism. His affirmation is supported by the fact that due to the 3 percent of the vote required for becoming a member of parliament there will be six to seven significant political formations, which will express the current options of the electorate correctly.

At this time, PUNR is conducting negotiations with the National Liberal Party and Agrarian Democratic Party of Romania to support an independent candidate in the presidential elections, who has not been claimed by any other party, our correspondent Adrian Olteanu informed us.

Patriarch Pleads for Observers

AU2606093692 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2000 GMT 25 Jun 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 25/6/1992—The patriarch of the Romanian Orthodox Church, Teoctist, called on June 25 on the General Secretaries of the World Church Council and European Church Conference as well as on the chairman of the Ecumenical Council of National Churches in the United States to inform world public opinion on the tragical situation in the Dniester area following the undeclared war against the Republic of Moldova, and apply to the U.S. President and the U.S. Congress just as to the U.N. Security Council for sending international observers to the conflict area so as an end should be put to lies and misinformation, and the 14th Army withdraw from the territory of the Republic of Moldova to stop innocent blood shedding.

Air Transportation With Moldova Initialed

AU2506161292 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1031 GMT 25 Jun 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 25/6/1992—Talks have been recently conducted in Bucharest between the Romanian minister of transport, Traian Basescu, and his Moldovan counter part Fyodor Kozlov. They materialized in the initialling of the draft inter-government agreement on air transport. The document will be signed in Chisinau, in August, as the Romanian relevant ministry informed. Nicolae Brutaru, head of the Civil Aviation Department of the Ministry of Transport told ROMPRES that a number of agreements on aviation have already been in operation between Romania and the Republic of Moldova. He mentioned first of all the understanding between the Tarom SA and Aer Moldova Airlines, according to which the flights between Bucharest and Chisinau are exempted from certain fees, including overflight and landing ones.

Brutaru also mentioned the understanding between the Aviatia Utilitara SA company of Romania and the Aer Moldova company on the training in Romania of airmen from the neighbor country.

There are two weekly flights between Bucharest and Chisinau.

Serbs, UN Force Agree on Artillery Location

AU2506203792 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 25 Jun 92

[Excerpts] There has been fierce fighting in and around the Sarajevo district of Dobrinja throughout the day. The Muslim forces tried to penetrate the liberated parts of this district last night. Serbian positions in Nedjarici, Dobrinja, Aerodrom, the airport, and Lukavica barracks were pounded with artillery fire. The Serbian Army responded to the Muslim attacks fiercely. [passage omitted]

Today, General Lewis MacKenzie visited Pale, where in the Presidency of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina he held talks with Dr. Nikola Koljevic and Biljana Plavsic, members of the Presidency, about future activities concerning the lifting of the blockade of Sarajevo Airport. After the talks, which lasted one hour, Dr. Nikola Koljevic and General MacKenzie made statements for Channel 8.

General MacKenzie said that the details have been agreed upon concerning the unilateral decision by the Serbian side to concentrate its weapons in one place as soon as possible, and not to open fire on any targets on the other side other than military. We discussed the details of this agreement, General Lewis MacKenzie said.

[Begin Koljevic recording] As General MacKenzie said, today we established the details and date concerning the concentration of the Serbian artillery. We agreed that the soldiers of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], the UNPROFOR forces will be able to place their observers by two o'clock [not specified whether morning or afternoon] on 29 June or sooner, if possible. We also agreed that this offer by the Serbian side is unilateral, regardless of the other side, and that civilian targets will not be hit, but only military ones, and that the control of the artillery will be established as soon as possible.

Dr. Biljana Plavsic and I told General MacKenzie that, regarding the Serbian side, the road between Belgrade and Lukavica is safe for all convoys and that it is in our interest that the humanitarian aid be put in the airport warehouses as soon as possible, so that as soon as circumstances permit, it can be distributed. [end recording] [passage omitted]

2 Doctors in UN Convoy Injured by Snipers

LD2606001292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2246 GMT 25 Jun 92

[Text] Sarajevo, June 25 (TANJUG)—Muslim snipers lightly wounded two Doctors Without Frontiers on Wednesday [24 June]. The doctors were in an UNPROFOR convoy returning from a hospital in Sarajevo's Kosevo suburb to the Serb-held suburb of Pale, the Bosnian Serbs' news agency SRNA reported this evening.

Sarajevo is the capital of the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, in which Muslims and Croats have for more than two months been pitted in fierce battle against local Serbs. UNPROFOR (U.N. Protection Force) is endeavouring to establish a ceasefire.

The snipers were shooting from nearby Donji Kotarac suburb, SRNA said.

The head of the four-member team of doctors told SRNA nothing like this had ever happened in the history of the organization.

He said he could not identify the assailants.

Karadzic Issues Statement on Sarajevo Cease-Fire

LD2606101392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0845 GMT 26 Jun 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 26 Jun (TANJUG)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, announced today that the republic's leadership has ordered an immediate halt to all artillery action against Sarajevo. The statement, which we are carrying in full, says:

"Determined to contribute to peace and a fundamental change in the process of overcoming the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina, the leadership of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina has ordered an immediate halt to all artillery action against the city of Sarajevo and the withdrawal of antiaircraft weapons from the zone around the airport so that it can be placed under the protection of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] and the safe and unhindered movement of convoys of humanitarian aid through the territory under the control of the Army of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina can be guaranteed. It has been decided that remaining artillery weapons should be unilaterally removed from their present positions.

"The leadership of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina considers that these first concrete steps will contribute to the earliest possible continuation of the work of the conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina in order to reach agreement between the three constituent nations on the future constitutional order of Bosnia-Hercegovina," the statement of the president of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina says.

UNPROFOR Soldier Wounded in Mortar Attack

LD2506141792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1244 GMT 25 Jun 92

[Text] Knin, 25 Jun (TANJUG)—Yesterday, Croatian Armed Forces opened fire on a UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] patrol in the Zadar hinterland, wounding one member of the Czechoslovak UNPROFOR contingent, TANJUG has learned from sources close to the UNPROFOR's command of sector south.

The peacekeeping force members came under mortar fire while they were on a reconnaissance mission at the frontline near the village of Cista Mala in the Zadar hinterland.

According to TANJUG's correspondent, one member of the patrol was wounded in the jaw. Surgery was carried out in Gracac and his life is not in danger.

During the attack 120-mm mortars were used and two armored personnel carriers belonging to the soldiers of UNPROFOR's French battalion were considerably damaged.

Croatian forces claim that they did not see that they were shooting at blue helmets even though all UNPROFOR vehicles are clearly marked.

Six-Truck Convoy, UNPROFOR Escort Disappear

LD2506193592 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 25 Jun 92

[Text] According to a statement from the international press center in Bihac, a convoy of six trucks carrying medicine and food, which had reached Rakovica with a UN Protection Force escort, has disappeared. The convoy was to be taken over by the Red Cross in Bihac. The aid packages also contain medication for hemodialysis. It is assumed that the convoy was intercepted in the area that is controlled by forces of the so-called Serbian autonomous region of Krajina.

President Views Intervention in Bosnian Conflict

PM2606103692 Paris LE FIGARO in French 25 Jun 92 p 4

[Interview with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman by Charles Lambroschini in Zagreb; date not given]

[Text] Zagreb—[Lambroschini] Lord Carrington, the European mediator, has invited you to Strasbourg for a crisis summit that will also be attended by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and the Bosnian foreign minister. What do you expect from this meeting?

[Tudjman] We have had many such meetings. But this one is special. It comes after the implementation of UN sanctions, after similar decisions made by the EEC, and after the Bush-Yeltsin talks. And it comes at a time when the threat of foreign military intervention is looming. I think that Lord Carrington is still seeking a political solution. This is also the path I prefer because I know that once the war is over, we will have to sit around a table. But if military intervention is necessary to achieve a peaceful solution, then I am in favor of military intervention.

[Lambroschini] Do you really believe that the Western countries might decide to send their soldiers to Bosnia-Hercegovina?

[Tudjman] Europe will have to decide to set up an intervention mechanism—for Yugoslavia today and for other places in the future. In my view, this kind of action is equally conceivable within the framework of the EEC, NATO, or the CSCE. What is lacking is not the military means, but the political will to use them.

[Lambroschini] Are you criticizing Europe for remaining passive?

[Tudjman] It must be admitted that the EEC has succeeded in maintaining its unity in face of the Yugoslav crisis. The Serbian imperialist policy gambled on a disagreement between France and Germany. That did not materialize. Milosevic also counted on a split in the United Nations between the United States and Russia, with Moscow aligning with the Serbs out of Slav and Orthodox solidarity. That also failed. But Belgrade is pursuing the same policy. This explains the inefficacy of international sanctions. Foreign military intervention, as the only way of halting this conflict, is therefore an entirely credible hypothesis.

[Lambroschini] What precisely do you have in mind? Raids by NATO planes to destroy the Serbian gun batteries that are pounding Sarajevo from the hills?

[Tudjman] Why limit it to just this option? There are others. A blockade of the airspace by allied air forces and a blockade of territorial waters by the NATO navies would be very effective.

[Lambroschini] Lord Carrington is worried about the consequences of the agreement that you just reached with President Izetbegovic, which makes provision not just for political and diplomatic cooperation between Croatia and Bosnia but for military cooperation too. He is afraid that might prompt the Serbs to launch an all-out war, setting alight regions that have not yet been hit and perhaps even a resumption of fighting on Croatian territory.

[Tudjman] Lord Carrington need not worry. It is not a military association. Our priority is cooperation between Croatians and Muslims, which will make it possible to respond to the aggression perpetrated against Bosnia-Hercegovina. We want to ensure the survival of a state that comprises three peoples. With this in mind, the international community can help us in two ways. First, by forcing Serbia to abandon its policy of aggression and annexation. Second, by forcing Bosnia's Muslim leaders

to accept the idea that organizing the republic into cantons is the only possible way in which Bosnia-Hercegovina can survive.

[Lambroschini] Do you envisage sending the Croatian Army to fight in Bosnia?

[Tudjman] If Bosnia's Croatians are threatened with extermination and they cannot defend themselves alone, it is obvious that Croatia will have to do something to help them. The geostrategic links between the two republics are so close and their economies so interwoven that if the war continues, Croatia will have to intervene.

[Lambroschini] UN Secretary General Butrus Ghali seems convinced that Croatian units in uniform are already fighting in Bosnia.

[Tudjman] They are only volunteers. They have militia insignia on their uniforms—that of the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] movement, for instance. There are no official Croatian forces in Bosnia-Hercegovina. The fighters that the UN people observed were Bosnian Croatians who came to help Croatia during the Serbian aggression and who returned home to defend their families and homes.

[Lambroschini] Some Bosnian Muslims suspect you of wishing to annex the republic's Croatian regions.

[Tudjman] They are mistaken. When President Izetbegovic spoke of establishing a united Muslim state in Bosnia, the Croatian population of that republic was faced with a twofold threat: on one side, the Serbs and on the other, the Muslims. The Bosnian Croatians then wanted to proclaim their attachment to Croatia. We used all our influence to ensure that they did not do so. I wanted to abide by EEC and UN principles, which prohibit the modification of borders by force. That is why Croatia recognized the sovereignty of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

[Lambroschini] How do you view Slobodan Milosevic: as a bloodthirsty madman or a strategist following his rationale to the end?

[Tudjman] Slobodan Milosevic has simply implemented a Serbian expansionist policy that was defined back in 1986 by a Belgrade Academy of Sciences memorandum. Professor Dobrida Cosic, one of the authors of that text, is the president of the new "Yugoslavia" that Milosevic has just created by bringing Serbia and Montenegro together. According to this strategy, the Serbs should profit from Tito's death. It is because of him that Serbia lost its dominant position in Yugoslavia. This injustice of history therefore had to be wiped out, taking action to ensure that all Serbs can live in one state.

[Lambroschini] If Serbia is the aggressor, how do you explain that it has been able to convince many countries, particularly France, that it was the victim?

[Tudjman] That is the result of historical circumstances. In World War I, Serbia and France were in the same camp. Croatia was in the enemy ranks because it was then under the control of Austria-Hungary. The conditions in which Croatia lived during the last world war further aggravated that negative image. For the first time in 900 years, Croatia was given the status of a state within the framework of the new European order that Hitler devised. Belgrade's propaganda has constantly emphasized this point. Of course, Milosevic pretends not to know that Croatia also struggled against fascism and the Nazi occupier. He attached an insulting label to Croatia—that of a country that collaborated with Hitler. But I, the elected president of democratic Croatia, joined the antifascist resistance at the age of 17. I fought Hitler for four years.

[Lambroschini] Ante Pavelic, the leader of the Ustashi state during the war, nonetheless had many supporters in the population.

[Tudjman] It was a government of quislings. Only remembering the Pavelic government from the history of Croatia during the war amounts to saying that France, between 1940 and 1945, was nothing but Marshal Petain, saying nothing about General de Gaulle and all the French people who, with him, continued the fight against Hitler. What Milosevic is careful not to say is that the real situation was very different. The antifascist struggle was much more widespread in Croatia than in Serbia. Winston Churchill himself said that in the antifascist struggle, Tito could count on Croatia but not on Serbia.

[Lambroschini] The fact remains that you have given your Serbian enemies arguments. Especially in your book "Rout of Historical Truth" in which, with regard to the Palestinian question, you describe Israel as a "Judeo-Nazi" state.

[Tudjman] I was the target of a deliberate disinformation operation. My book is more than 600 pages long. But Belgrade only translated around 10 pages, which were distributed throughout the world. My enemies lied. They organized a falsification. I was and still am antifascist. I am a fervent advocate of democracy. My whole life proves it. As I told you, I fought the Nazi occupier for four years. My brother was killed by the fascists. My father and my mother-in-law were killed by the Communists. I have struggled against both totalitarianisms.

[Lambroschini] What about the remark you made during the spring 1990 election campaign: "Fortunately my wife is neither Serbian nor Jewish."

[Tudjman] That remark was taken out of context. This is stupid. I still have the Jewish friends I had.

[Lambroschini] You are also criticized for your authoritarian attitude. The newspaper DANAS says that it was banned because you could not tolerate its journalists opposing your policies.

[Tudjman] Neither I nor the government prevented DANAS from publishing. That newspaper had financial

problems. Publication was halted simply because times have changed. There is no longer a communist regime to subsidize it, as in the past.

[Lambroschini] If Croatia is a democracy, how is it that you imprisoned Dobroslav Paraga? He is the leader of an extreme right-wing party, but his statements were no more nationalist than those that you made during the 1990 election campaign.

[Tudjman] He has been charged and his trial is still going on. Dobroslav Paraga tried to create an irregular military organization. He was responsible for numerous provocations. He tried to revive crypto-fascist tendencies in the country. Show me a democratic country that allows the formation of an irregular army.

[Lambroschini] Last December, you submitted a bill to parliament on the protection of minorities in Croatia. If you had passed that law six months earlier, do you not think you would have prevented the Serbs' armed intervention? Or, at least, that you would have deprived Belgrade of an excuse to justify the intervention?

[Tudjman] Everything that is stipulated in this law on minorities was already enshrined in the Constitution. This law was merely a formal response to the EEC's demands for diplomatic recognition of Croatia. The truth is that the Serbs wanted to create Greater Serbia. To this end they even wanted to overthrow the Croatian Government. They did not succeed. So, they invaded Croatia. What Belgrade wanted was maintenance of the former system in which the 10 percent of Serbs that Croatia contains occupied the majority of positions of responsibility. The Serbian leaders intended to be recognized, to use Hitler's expression, as the "Herrenvolk"—the dominant race.

[Lambroschini] But what did the 600,000 Croatian Serbs say?

[Tudjman] Some of them allowed themselves to be manipulated—especially in the rural districts, much less so in the cities. Our democratic government offered them a share of power. We made the same offer to the most extremist Serbian leaders. At present, there are Serbs in the Croatian police and Serbian judges sit on the Zagreb Supreme Court. Zivko Juzbasic, one of our ministers, is a Serb. So is the deputy health minister. A Serb heads the administrative department in charge of minorities' problems. There are Serbs throughout the administration. But they no longer occupy more than 60 percent of the posts, just 6 percent.

[Lambroschini] In the area in which the UN forces have intervened between you and the Serbs, you complain that the Serbs are taking advantage of the truce to clear Croatian villages of their populations. But the Serbs accuse you of doing the same thing.

[Tudjman] Go to the area and see for yourself. You will see that more than 300,000 Croatians have been hounded from their lands. Since the invasion of Croatia by Serbia, whole villages have been exterminated. Show me a single crime that has been perpetrated by a Croatian in Serbia.

[Lambroschini] Are you saying that only the Serbs are carrying out an "ethnic clearance" operation in the land they occupy?

[Tudjman] This war was imposed on Croatia. When our army succeeds in recapturing Croatian villages it is natural that the Serbian population should be forced to leave. But we are prepared to respect the international conventions on the rules of war. And, in this sphere, we are prepared to accept international monitoring.

[Lambroschini] Does the Serbian opposition have a real chance of overthrowing President Milosevic?

[Tudjman] For two years I have been telling all foreign observers that there is not just a difference of national identity between the Croatians and Serbs. They are separated by their civilizations. Whether royalist, socialist, or liberal, the Serbs will continue to kill each other. Whether or not Slobodan Milosevic is overthrown, whether he succeeds or fails, there is no indication that there will be truly democratic forces to take over. It will still be Balkan-style democracy. The real problem is much simpler: The Serbs must abandon their idea of a Greater Serbia built at the expense of the other peoples.

Kucan Interviewed on Independence Anniversary

LD2506113392 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 0342 GMT 25 Jun 92

[Interview granted by Slovene President Milan Kucan to correspondent Thomas Gerlach on 24 June; place not given; Kucan in Slovenian fading to German translation; on the "Information In The Morning" program—recorded]

[Text] [Gerlach] Mr. President. What has one year of independence meant for the State of Slovenia internationally?

[Kucan] Slovenia did not want independence and international recognition in order to create borders, in order to create a nation-state. We needed this state as a starting point and as a means to integrate ourselves into international life and international organizations. And we have achieved these aims. Slovenia is now also a member of the CSCE, and of the United Nations. We have begun negotiations with the EC, we are conducting talks with the IMF and the World Bank. In brief, we have established international relations.

[Gerlach] [Words indistinct] what you have just touched upon, that statement you made last year—one needs a nation, even if it's only for 15 minutes, one needs sovereignty and then one can transform it. [Words indistinct] with the confederation at that time. Do you still see any chance of a confederation?

[Kucan] Yes, that is precisely what I meant by that. A nation which cannot make its own decisions about its situation, its international relations and its own interests cannot take on any responsibility either. I believe that after all the events that we have seen, a confederation or an institutional cooperation is no longer possible. But I do not rule out the possibility that there will be cooperation, perhaps even a closer cooperation. But that will not be restricted to the territory of the former Yugoslavia; there will be cooperation within the Central and south European framework. That of course all depends on common interests and on the issue of how that can be reconciled with the integration process in Central Europe.

[Gerlach] Economic developments over the last 12 months show inflation, a relatively high level of unemployment, and the reform of the economy has not succeeded in the way that many hoped: Is that the price of independence or are there other reasons?

[Kucan] I must say that it is in fact quite the other way round. This lagging behind in development and this economic crisis are in fact the reason for the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia. Last year, we could not concern ourselves with progress to the required degree because we were preoccupied with such questions as peace and war and international recognition. We had to secure our sovereignty by means of this international recognition. Now we have finally achieved this sovereignty, and now we can at last pursue our economic reform and other efforts. We are now trying to adapt ourselves to the European economic system. We are trying to solve social problems and we are trying to close the gap by which we lag behind in development. This deficit is the result of the socialist economic policy in the former Yugoslavia. That is why Slovenia is worse off than other European states.

[Gerlach] President Kucan, Slovenia was once one of the most important, one could almost say exporters, to the Yugoslav market. Now that's all been lost because of the war in Croatia, but also because of the war in Bosnia. What does this mean for your state?

[Kucan] This is certainly a problem. But we started to lose the Yugoslav market years ago, through the Serbian trade and customs blockade after we made reference to the Serbian human rights problem, mainly concerning the Albanians in Kosovo. But the war has intensified the problem. We have lost even more of the markets. We are now busy trying to find new markets; we have already diverted 20 percent of imports and exports. By increasing quality, we have acquired new markets. But we need better technology in order to secure this higher quality. And this is the main problem in Slovenian industry.

[Gerlach] Are the states of Slovenia and Serbia, Montenegro, i.e., the rest of Yugoslavia still talking to one another? I'm asking this because there used to be common Yugoslav assets to which Slovenia made a considerable contribution, and I can well imagine that you would naturally have wanted to save some of these reserves for your state.

[Kucan] There are no longer direct talks, although we made an offer for talks. There are only indirect contacts via the EC conference in Brussels. Now the question has arisen about the state successor to Yugoslavia under international law, and this is a very extensive question which contains very serious problems, both material and concerning international law. Serbia is underestimating the significance and the spirit of the international conference on Yugoslavia. Hitherto Serbia has achieved what it has through force and extortion, and is probably now trying to resolve the problem of the successor states in the area of the former Yugoslavia using the same means.

[Gerlach] Please permit me to finish with a private question. During the dramatic time in June 1991, a year ago, were there moments when you yourself were afraid?

[Kucan] I was not afraid for myself during this time but I was constantly aware of the responsibility that I had for the Slovenian people, for the lives of my fellow citizens if it should come to a war. That was a real possibility then, and I took seriously the threats of the generals who in fact threatened the same things that they are now carrying out in Bosnia. Contrary to some of my fellow citizens I believed that all that would have been possible.

But through luck and well-reasoned political steps, we succeeded in evading this danger, for ever, I hope.

Former Premier Criticizes Drnovsek Government

92P20321A Ljubljana SLOVENEC in Slovene
17 Jun 92 p 5

[STA report: "Drnovsek Government Mistakes"]

[Text] Vienna—"I am convinced that the new Slovene Government headed by Dr. Janez Drnovsek will run into deep trouble in the future, mainly because of its present catastrophic economic policy," former Slovene Prime Minister Lojze Peterle told Austrian journalists. He was invited to Vienna for the weekend by Erhard Busek, deputy prime minister of Austria. Peterle said that Drnovsek's government has increased budget expenditures, causing higher inflation. He reproached Drnovsek for conducting an economic policy similar to that of former Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic. According to Peterle, the budget expenditures have increased by one-third, while at the same time privatization and the new election law are not progressing. He is convinced that his right-of-center government fell because it was successful, and the opponents were afraid that the ruling parties would win the elections again. Regarding the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina [B-H], Peterle criticized Europe for always misjudging the Yugoslav crisis. The UN measures against Belgrade would have made sense, had they been put in force a year ago. Military intervention in B-H, so much talked about lately, will also be too late, Peterle stated.

IMF Delegation Visits, Gathers Information

92BA1072A Ljubljana DELO in Slovene
5 Jun 92 p 1

[Article by Marjeta Sostaric: "Closer to Slovenia's Admission to the IMF"]

[Text] *The IMF mission's press conference after visiting our republic for several days.*

Ljubljana, 4 Jun—The first visit by an IMF mission to Slovenia only represents the regular procedure of gathering the information necessary when a new state joins this important international financial institution. Consequently, after several days of familiarization with the situation here, it is still not possible to predict when Slovenia will be admitted to the IMF. It is certain, however, that in any case our state's becoming a member of the IMF is no longer dependent on when the issue of the status of the former Yugoslavia is resolved.

As stated in an interview for journalists by Jacques R. Artus, the head of the mission and also the deputy chief of the IMF's European section, and Pierre Francotte, a senior adviser in this international monetary institution, the mission came to Slovenia (after the latter had already applied for admission to the IMF months before) in order to explain the Fund's purpose and work, and also in order to start gathering all the necessary information for admission to the IMF. They were therefore interested in statistical data, data on the gross national product (in our case, data on the social product), and foreign exchange transactions. They also asked for a detailed description of the Slovene budget, an analysis of the monetary aggregate, more detailed analyses of the situation in the economy, etc. On the basis of all the information that they have already received and that Slovenia has yet to supplement before the next visit by an IMF mission (when it will occur depends on the urgency of the data collected and requested), they are to evaluate the economic situation and assess the state's economic policy, and allocate it a quota. That determines the size of possible loans, and also the dues for membership in the IMF.

"Slovenia is no longer part of Yugoslavia, and consequently we are also treating its application for admission to the IMF as an application from a new independent state," Jacques R. Artus stated. He also explained that membership in the IMF does not give a state any a priori rights to obtain loans. "If a state requests a loan, it can only get it on the basis of a very specific program for resolving difficulties, and then only if the Fund agrees with the method of resolving the difficulties," he explained. The use of the money obtained through the loan is therefore strictly controlled.

In the opinion of the members of the mission, which also visited Croatia before this, both Slovenia and Croatia were well-prepared for the visit by the IMF members. In their views, however, there are considerable differences between the two states. Slovenia's balance of payments is considerably more favorable, but because of everything that is happening in Croatia, the IMF is also prepared to assist it indirectly even before that state is even admitted to the IMF.

Import Duty on Equipment, Raw Materials Reduced

92BA1072B Ljubljana DELO in Slovene
5 Jun 92 p 1

[Article by Bozena Kriznik: "Government Has Reduced Duties on Imports of Equipment and Raw Materials"]

[Text] *Expansion of reduced rates and liberalization of commodity regimes; reduction of duty rates for all equipment up to three years old; increased quotas for food imports.*

Ljubljana, 4 Jun—The new Slovene Government is reducing customs duties on imports of equipment, raw materials, and semifinished products, both for production for export and production intended for the domestic market. It is thus allowing enterprises to import more or import more cheaply, and thus to reduce their expenses and prices and become more competitive. The reduction in duty rates, the expansion of reduced rates, and the liberalization of commodity regimes were the subject of

three decrees and decisions that were presented in a press conference after today's government meeting.

Among other things, the government is changing the decree on the commodities for which a special duty is paid in order to balance the tax burden. The general rate of this duty remains 8.5 percent, to be sure, but the scope of goods for which a reduced 1-percent duty has to be paid is being expanded. The reduced rate now applies to imports and leases of new equipment (except for motor vehicles and office equipment), and imports of raw materials and semifinished products. The condition is that neither is produced domestically. The special lower duty also applies to imports of raw materials, semifinished products, and semimanufactures under long-term coproduction contracts.

As Deputy Foreign Minister Vojka Ravbar further explained at the press conference, the government has reduced customs duties for all new equipment and equipment up to three years old that is intended for modernizing production. Once again there is a condition that Slovenia does not manufacture that kind of equipment, and it must also meet environmental protection criteria.

Once again, office equipment and motor vehicles that are produced domestically are an exception, whereas the customs duty is being reduced for imports of tractors. Thus, for the equipment specified by the decree, it will only be necessary to pay 20 percent of the duty specified by the customs rate (until now it was necessary to pay half of the duty). It will be possible to import equipment for which enterprises obtain loans from international financial institutions, equipment from joint investments with foreigners, and equipment associated with economic restructuring projects without paying customs duties. Imports of raw materials and semifinished products for production for export where exports exceed imports by 30 percent will be exempt from customs duties (previously the export surplus had to be 50 percent). The decree provides for only half duties for imports of raw materials and semifinished products intended for the domestic market. Neither the first decree nor the second one reduces the duties on imports of consumer goods.

The government also aimed for liberalization in the classification of goods into types of imports and exports: For instance, in the case of agricultural and food products there were about 75 items to which quotas and import taxes applied at the same time. For 29 types of goods the new decree eliminates quotas, but it retains them for the most vital agricultural products, namely those that are also protected by the EC. The government, with the agreement of the Slovene Chamber of Commerce, thinks that textile quotas should not be eliminated yet, but they are high enough that there should be no fear of difficulties with imports. At the same time, the government also adopted a resolution on increasing the quotas for imports of agricultural food products, but the system for dividing up the quotas remains unchanged.

Federal

New Yugoslav President's Life Chronicled

AU2506164392 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Jun 92 p 3

[Vucinic, Vignjevic, Torov biography of Cosic: "Father of a Nation in Evil Times"]

[Text] Dobrica Cosic was born on 4 January 1922 to a farmer's family in Velika Drenova. He joined the Communist movement in Negotin, where he attended secondary agricultural school. He joined the partisan movement at the outbreak of the war, and, in 1943, became political commissar of the Rasin partisan unit and member of the district party committee. At the end of 1943, Cosic became secretary of the district party office for Pomoravlje, but after a nervous breakdown (caused by chetnik torture) he was sent away for treatment. But instead of being taken to a hospital in Bari, he was transferred to Pusta Reka, where he became chief editor of MLADI BORAC.

Following the end of the war, the commissar became a professional agitator: first in the regional committee of the Alliance of the Communist Youth of Yugoslavia for Serbia, and beginnning in 1948 in the Central Committee of the Communist party for Serbia. He associated with the then "sinners"—intellectuals from the legendary circle of Simina 9—which was unusual for party workers.

Between 1945 and 1957, Cosic was a peoples' deputy, and in that function he actively agitated for education in the countryside. He started his literary career in 1951 with the publishing of his novel "Daleko je sunce" [The Far Away Sun]. After returning from a visit to Goli Otok in 1952, he initiated a debate on the conditions in this camp in the organizational commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. On a trip to a literary event, by pure chance he found himself in Budapest during the Hungarian revolt in 1956. His diary about those dramatic events, "Sedam dana u Budimpesti" [Seven Days in Budapest] was published in BORBA immediately upon his return.

Dobrica Cosic's definite departure from the policies of the Communist Party happened during the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in May 1968. He remained alone there in his criticism of the ruling ideological concept of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and his opposition to the announced reorganization of Yugoslavia into a federation of national states. He resigned from his party function and left the party.

At the beginning of the seventies, Cosic was denied any public activity. During his dissident isolation, this already well-known author and number one man of the head committee of the Serbian literary association became a member of the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences. His first speech on 29 March 1977 led to further vicious attacks by party officials, ideologists, and journalists because of his statement that the Serbs "were victors in war and losers in peace." During 1980-81, with a group of similarly-minded people, he tried to publish a magazine called JAVNOST as an independent free platform for dialogue between various options.

He achieved literary fame with his first novel "Daleko je sunce," which is still the biggest bestseller in the country—a million copies have been sold. He then wrote "Koreni" [Roots] in 1954, "Deobe" [Divisions] in 1961, and "Bajke" [Fairy Tales] in 1966. His trilogy about the suffering of the Serbian people in World War I "Vreme smrti" [Time of Death], in the 1972-75 period, brought him the epithet of the Serbian Tolstoy. His trilogy "Vreme zla" [Evil Times], which he wrote during the eighties, was about tragic errors in communist ideology and practice. The three books: "Gresnik" [Sinner] in 1985, "Otpadnik" [Misfit] in 1986, and "Vernik" [Believer] in 1990, represent a critical account of the times he witnessed and participated in.

Cosic's literary works have been published in 18 languages, and "Time of Death" has had a second edition in the United States. The author whom Patriarch German called the wisest Serb, and whom the nation called "father of the nation," has twice been nominated for the Nobel Prize by distinguished European Slav Studies centers, in 1983 and 1989.

Sandzak, JNA Leaders Discuss Situation

92BA1096C Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Jun 92 p 9

[Article by M. Dugalic and S. Bakracevic: "Talks Between Sandzak Opstinas and Parties and Command of Uzice Corps: Preventing Formation of Paramilitary Units"]

[Text] *We are well-aware that there are organized and armed paramilitary formations here that are ready for conflict, and that it is indispensable that the competent organs prevent these phenomena, Maj. Gen. Dragoljub Ojdanic, the commander of the Uzice Corps, emphasized.*

Novi Pazar, 12 Jun—Cooled interethnic relations, uncertainty, concern, but also hope and desire that there be no conflict: This is the general assessment of the current situation in the majority of Sandzak opstinas. To varying degrees, these efforts are being disrupted by malicious rumors and isolated excesses, extremists, and members of reserve units of the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army], as well as by the influence of the conflict in B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina], sanctions, and the interests of the great powers. The difficulty of preserving peace in this region, an agreement between representatives of all political parties from the opstinas of Novi Pazar, Tutin, Sjenica, Priboj, Prijepolje, Nova Varos, and Raska, and what to do in order to preserve peace were the basic reason for today's meeting in Novi Pazar, presided over by the head of Raska okrug, Milos Nesovic.

This meeting was attended by Maj. Gen. Dragoljub Ojdanic, the commander of the Uzice Corps, which includes units that are currently positioned in Sandzak. After assessing the situation, Gen. Ojdanic said that the main goal of the army as well is to consistently implement its constitutional role in preserving state sovereignty, independence, and peace. He also noted that the propaganda machine is seeking to disrupt the traditionally good relations between the people and the armed forces in order to destroy everything that soldiers in this region have constructed with the population over the course of years gone by.

In warning individual leaders of opstinas not to circumvent the truth about the actual situation in their areas, something that could have a surprising and catastrophic effect, he gave particular emphasis to the following:

"We are well-aware that there are organized, armed, paramilitary formations here that are ready for conflict. We hope, however, that the tragedy in Bosnia-Hercegovina will serve as a warning and that the people will not accept the goals of extremists. Moreover, it is known that individuals who have participated in the conflict in Bosnia intend to return and initiate conflict here as well. Contributing to this is the nonfunctioning of certain segments of the paramilitary state in the territory of Sandzak, so that black-market drugs, arms, and activities that threaten the state are spreading."

Thus, Gen. Ojdanic proposed that objective information be provided about everything in the press and in other ways—about every excess, regardless of who provokes it—and that the competent organs launch campaigns to disarm and disband paramilitary units, that armed and unregistered figures in the area be identified, and that there be a precise determination of the number and identity of individuals who are currently in green beret units and other paramilitary formations in B-H but who come from Sandzak.

In response to comments by party leaders and certain opstina leaders concerning the excessive concentration of armed forces in this region, Gen. Ojdanic at one point even put forth a settlement whereby all commands propose a partial reduction in the armed forces in this region if this meeting guarantees peace.

Ismet Hodzic, the chairman of the SDA [Party of Democratic Action] for Novi Pazar, emphasized the peaceful efforts of his party, announcing assemblies and peaceful rallies. Hodzic even designated an antiarmy gathering in Sjenica as a peaceful rally, at which people's deputy Alija Mahmutovic informed the reservists that "the dead will carry them away from here." Dzemail Suljevic (SDA of Sjenica) also saw the armed forces as a destabilizing factor and provided "proof" of attacks by reservists.

Senko Rasljanin (Reform Party) demanded information on Sandzak citizens participating in the war in B-H. Tihomir Petrovic (SPO [Serbian Renewal Movement]) believes that the membership of his party is being mobilized more than that of the ruling party. Mladen Tripkovic (SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia] of Sjenica) criticized the leader of his opstina, Djamil Lakota, for blaming the armed forces for what they are doing, "without mentioning drills conducted by other forces in Sjenica."

The participants in the meeting agreed that it is nevertheless a good thing that they have found a way to talk, seeing the keys to war and peace in their own activities, and not in factors outside Sandzak and outside the state borders.

Serbia

Milosevic, Lord Carrington Hold Talks in France

AU2506151592 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 25 Jun 92

[Text] After more than two hours Lord Carrington, [chairman of the Conference on Yugoslavia] and Serbian President Milosevic ended their talks here in Strasbourg. This certainly indicates the seriousness and the extensiveness of the dialogue between the two statesmen, which was primarily about issues concerning the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina, as well as all other issues concerning the hot-beds of crisis in Yugoslavia.

Responding to demands to recognize Bosnia-Hercegovina, President Milosevic stressed in particular: Our principled stand is that this can be done after the end of the dialogue between the three ethnic communities in that republic and that Serbia and Montenegro, that is to say, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, will accept all solutions found through the consensus between Muslims, Serbs, and Croats. However, when it concerns some demands that Serbia stop all moral and elementary food help to the Serbs in Bosnia. Milosevic said, neither the current nor any future Serbian authorities can accept this.

They also discussed Kosovo, that is to say, the status of ethnic Albanians in that part of Serbia. President Milosevic stressed that all rights demanded by the CSCE are guaranteed to ethnic Albanians, as they are to all other minorities. He particularly stressed that the representatives of the Albanian alternative were offered dialogue on several occasions, but they did not even accept the invitation of Prime Minister Bozovic, who made a special visit to Pristina.

Of course, during the conversation between Lord Carrington and Slobodan Milosevic, which was also attended by Serbian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic, there was also some mention of the current pressure on Serbia. Lord Carrington was invited to visit Belgrade. During the talks, the Serbian president particularly stressed the facts that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and its organs have been set up, and that Dobrica Cosic has been elected president.

Croatian leader Franjo Tudjman also arrived in Strasbourg. He is currently holding talks with Lord Carrington in the office of the Portuguese ambassador. As regards the Muslim representative, Haris Silajdzic, his arrival is still uncertain.

Lord Carrington is expected to hold a news conference at about 1600 [1400 GMT] at which he will sum up the results of today's talks.

Milosevic Interviewed

AU2506194292 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 25 Jun 92

[Interview with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic by Zoran Jevdjovic in Strasbourg, France, on 25 June—recorded]

[Text] [Jevdjovic] Mr. President, could you tell us what your impressions are after the meeting [with Lord Carrington]? Could you tell us a bit more about the results if....

[Milosevic, interrupting] Let me tell you briefly: We had a very long meeting that broached all current issues concerning the settlement of the crisis in Yugoslavia, the continuation of the conference on Yugoslavia, and, above all, the issues that are the most urgent at present, namely the issues concerning Bosnia-Hercegovina.

However, before I tell you something about that, I would like to remind you that at the first meeting after the promulgation of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY], [Montenegrin] President Bulatovic and I informed the conference that the delegation of the Republics of Montenegro and Serbia of that time would in the future appear as the single delegation of the FRY. At the beginning of our talks today, I informed Lord Carrington in the same way about the agreement with our President Dobrica Cosic that our talks can be considered to be a conversation with the representatives of the FRY, because Serbia is one of the republics within the FRY.

On behalf of President Cosic and myself, I invited Lord Carrington to visit Belgrade and to talk to all the partners he wishes to talk to in the interests of the Conference on Yugoslavia progressing. He expressed his thanks for the invitation, and we hope that this visit will follow when it suits Lord Carrington. He asked me to convey his greetings to Mr. Dobrica Cosic, FRY president, and to thank him for the invitation that he had sent through me to visit Belgrade, that is, continue the talks.

Regarding the issues concerning Bosnia-Hercegovina, our stand is well known. We are striving for an immediate and unconditional cease-fire and for the soonest possible continuation of the conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina.

There was some insistence concerning the recognition of Bosnia-Hercegovina. This was the first question that was discussed. Considering the setting up of the FRY, this question represents a problem that can only be decided upon by the organs of Yugoslavia. As far as my opinion is concerned, I think that the very moment the conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina concludes its work successfully on the basis of a tripartite consensus, in other words, agreement between the representatives of the Serbian, Muslim, and Croatian peoples, or the three constituent communities in Bosnia-Hercegovina, there will be no problem whatsoever for Yugoslavia to respect this solution.

After all, you know that even before the FRY had been created we had a very clear view that we would not only respect all the solutions that all three constituent peoples of Bosnia-Hercegovina agreed on, but we would also support them. I also recalled the declaration [Milosevic changes thought] two occurrences: the declaration that was adopted by the FRY Assembly during the proclamation of the Constitution and the inaugural speech by President Cosic when he was elected FRY president. These two events are mutually connected and directed toward the same goal.

It is quite clear that the FRY has no territorial claims whatsoever, that it respects the territorial integrity of all its neighbors. In this sense, we hope therefore that the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina will be resolved on these bases. As is known, regarding any activities in Bosnia-Hercegovina, we support—and this is also the view of the president of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Serbia and the Republic of Montenegro—the idea of Sarajevo airport being reopened as soon as possible, and that it be put under international control. It is known that this is also the view of the Serbian leadership in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Therefore, we hope that the good cooperation between the Serbian side in Bosnia-Hercegovina and the United Nations will not only result in the complete reopening of Sarajevo airport, but also in the entire town being placed under international control, which will certainly make, I would say, a key contribution at present for calming the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina and extinguishing the worst hotbed of crisis there.

[Jevdjovic] Did you discuss a possible joint meeting with the representatives of Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina?

[Milosevic] At present we do not even know whether the representatives of Bosnia-Hercegovina are here at all. We did discuss the possibility of a meeting with Croatian President Tudjman. As far as we are concerned, we do not have anything against it. We have met several times in the past and talked. We will accept any conversation that can contribute to peace. My reply to Lord Carrington was in this sense.

Of course, we also talked about the existence of a whole spate of false information about the FRY or Serbia fomenting the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina. I gave my assurances that this is not being done, and that our help is above all the help that should ensure the survival of the people there. No one can demand from us to deprive the

people living there of foodstuffs, gasoline, medicines, and other (?basic) necessities. Therefore, all these attempts to settle the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina by making us refuse to extend help to our people, and, in a way, kill them, are absolutely out of the question. I do not know whether any authorities or people in Serbia could accept such an approach.

However, regarding military operations, it is absolutely certain that there is not one single unit of the Yugoslav army engaged in any way in the civil war on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Of course, we also discussed the question concerning the settlement of the problems of minorities. Our stand on this issue is known. Minorities in Serbia and Yugoslavia can always count on all rights according to the highest CSCE standards. Regarding the problem of Kosovo—this issue was also raised—we tried to remind our partners in the talks that just in the last two months the leaders of some Albanian parties have refused four times to attend talks with the representatives of the government of Serbia.

As everyone knows, one such attempt was the visit by our prime minister to Kosovo, where he was supposed to meet with representatives of all parties. We hope that this dialogue will start, but our stand, and everyone should be clear about this, is that all issues concerning Kosovo can be discussed within the framework of the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia.

I would like to say that we are very satisfied with the categorical stand by both Lord Carrington and his associates that the international community is absolutely against any acts of secession by Kosovo from Serbia, and it does not support any aspirations by the separatist movements in Kosovo for secession from Serbia. In my view, this is very important at present.

Regarding human rights, we can only offer equality to Albanians, as we can to other minorities, and nothing more than equality. In this sense, I hope that the conversation we had with Lord Carrington and his associates and the visits that will follow next week by the representatives of the conference and the associates of Lord Carrington who were present here will help us make several steps forward in resolving the Yugoslav crisis with full mutual cooperation and full mutual understanding.

Thank you.

Milosevic Proposes Confederation With Greece

LD2506224392 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2128 GMT 25 Jun 92

[Text] Athens, June 25 (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic proposed the forming of a confederation between Yugoslavia and Greece.

In an exclusive interview on Tuesday [23 June] in Belgrade to the Greek commercial television station Antenna, when asked about this, Milosevic replied he was convinced that a Serbian-Greek confederation would be a factor of great stability in the region, and would surely be in the interest of both the Greek and the Serbian people.

He said there were not only historical and traditionally friendly relations between the two nations, but also major topical interests, and the existence of such a state in the Balkans, in this part of Europe, would undoubtedly also in the political, economic and military and any other respect represent a factor of stability in the part of the planet.

Asked why he has not proposed this to Greek Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis, Milosevic replied by asking who was it that said he had not proposed this to Mitsotakis. It was noted during the TV program that Milosevic did this in the recent meetings with Mitsotakis.

In this context, Milosevic said he did not believe that either a Greek or a Serbian politician could rule out such an idea.

Asked whether there would be joint armed forces in such a confederation, Milosevic replied that this was something that would also have to be discussed.

In the context of discussions about a Yugoslav-Greek confederation, which was termed by the TV presenters as Serbian-Greek, there was no mention about any other people, nor what would in this case be the status of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

Assembly Holds 'Polemical' Debate on Government

AU2506193492 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 25 Jun 92

[Excerpt] The Assembly of Serbia has given a vote of confidence to the republican government. The whole morning was spent discussing a proposal by a group of deputies for the government to be dismissed because of the situation in which Serbia finds itself. At times the debate was, to put it mildly, more intolerant than anything that has so far been heard in the Assembly of Serbia. Nebojsa Spajic has a report:

[Begin recording] [Spajic] Some 24 deputies voted in favor of dismissing the government while 102 were against, and there were six abstentions. The deputies voted in a show of hands because the Assembly had decided this on the proposal of two deputies.

On behalf of 27 signatories, Milan Paroski [People's Party] explained the proposal for the government's dismissal, citing that the events themselves show that the government has reacted neither promptly nor efficiently.

[Paroski] Any political subject apart from the Government of the Republic of Serbia and the president of the republic are not responsible until the government and

the president of the republic account for themselves. Why is it important for the government to account for itself? It is important that the democratic process does not take place outside the parliament. If the question of responsibility is settled in parliament, it is settled by democratic means and it is certain that the effects will be positive.

If, however, those who are responsible are not called to account, that is if they do not submit their resignations or are not dismissed and they, in this case the government, are not given a vote of no confidence, in this case, the process of irresponsibility, the process of cataclysm, will continue in a spiral and will certainly acquire some other dimensions.

[Spajic] Prime Minister Radoman Bozovic said that the actual procedure for voting on dismissing the government is not disputable but he recalled his speech a few days ago which, as he put it, was sufficiently specific and well-argued. He did not deny that the government needs a cadre reconstruction, and he advocated this according to the criteria of the input of some ministers before the distribution of powers between the federal and republican institutions and according to the criteria of the times in which we live.

Rejecting the proposal for the whole government's dismissal, Bozovic warned that it is not prepared to accept two criteria.

[Bozovic] That is, to proclaim Serbia and Serbs occupiers and aggressors in Bosnia-Hercegovina and in the conditions of civil war in Bosnia-Hercegovina to accept responsibility for the Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina and Serbia to be considered aggressors in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The second (?criterion) is the stand of this government which it will not abandon—so it would be good for me to say this before the vote of confidence in this government—and that is that any part of the territory of the Republic of Serbia is proclaimed under anyone's pressure a special and separate zone from the Republic of Serbia. [sentence as heard]

[Spajic] Paroski reacted again to this, explaining that he is not in favor of this being accepted, either but that the government has not proposed one single specific project nor one single political alliance. He said that its dismissal is being demanded not because the government is incompetent but because it has been unsuccessful.

Bozovic, who asked to speak again, was surprised that in this respect the government is being blamed for not resolving national interests, adding that the list of signatories on the proposal for its dismissal was the best proof of whether it can be accused of such things. What he specifically thought was explained by Deputy Vojislav Seselj [Serbian Radical Party], citing the odd Albanian, Hungarian, Croatian, and Muslim name among the 27 deputies. He said that in principle he would be in favor of the government being dismissed but that:

[Seselj] Today, when the government's dismissal is being sought under foreign American and German pressure, this is sufficient reason for all of us to [word indistinct]. When America and Germany are calling for the Serbian Government to be dismissed this is sufficient reason for us to be against its dismissal.

[Spajic] This was followed by a polemical discussion between Deputies Seselj, Paroski, and Mihajlo Markovic, which was full of criticism and personal insults. This was the kind of polemical discussion that has virtually never been heard before in the Assembly of Serbia, so that Assembly Chairman Aleksandar Bakocevic had to stop the session. Passions calmed down a little after the recess.

Otherwise, 16 deputies took part in the debate on the government's dismissal who, on the one hand, blamed the government for the position that we are in now while others said that the government must not give in to outside pressure.

It is expected that this afternoon the Assembly will discuss the proposed conclusions of its commission on the blockade and measures to get out of it. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Radical Party President on Call for Demonstrations

AU2506155892 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 25 Jun 92

[Text] The Serbian Radical Party is appealing to the Serbian people not to take part in the demonstrations that have been called, as the party says, by traitors of the Serbian people for St. Vitus Day [28 June]. We are asking all students and true patriots not to take part in the demonstrations and the student strike. This was stated by Vojislav Seselj, president of the Serbian Radical Party, at a news conference. Vladimir Nikolic reports:

[Begin recording] [Nikolic] The demonstrations serve foreign interests and aims and are undermining Serbian harmony and unity. They are aimed at overthrowing the authorities by force and causing fratricidal war to create a motive for foreign interference, Seselj said.

[Seselj] The Serbian Radical Party has information that Vuk Draskovic, president of the Serbian Renewal Movement, has received 5 million German marks [DM] from the German Intelligence Service. The bulk of the money has found its way to his own pocket. He is using part of the money for paying people to take part in the demonstrations.

[Nikolic] The Serbian Radical Party also has information that members of the Serbian Renewal Movement in Kragujevac, Cacak, and Zajecar were given DM100 to come to Belgrade and take part in the demonstrations. Seselj also said that his party has the information that Boris Stajkovac, Zorance Mihajlov, Olga Kavran, Jelena

Medan, Ivan Merkut, Nadja Sabljakovic, Milan Jovanovic, Aleksandar Vranic, Jasna Sakota, Mladjen Djordjevic, Vladimir Zlatanovic, all students or assistants at Belgrade University, and Borko Draskovic, Vuk Draskovic's nephew, received between [DM]10,000 and 20,000 from representatives of some foreign embassies in support of the student strike.

It is obvious that Belgrade University students are subjected to dangerous manipulation aimed at creating chaos in Serbia, Seselj stressed. The Serbian Radical Party also has a copy of a letter that Vuk Draskovic sent to CSFR Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier as chairman of the CSCE. The letter was sent via Frantisek Lipka, CSFR ambassador to Belgrade. The letter accuses the current Serbian authorities in several places and invites a group of expert observers of the Center for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights from Warsaw to come to Serbia and Montenegro and see for themselves the claims made in the letter.

We are using all this to warn the Serbian people about who is working against them and in what way. This was stated by Vojislav Seselj. [end recording]

'Dissatisfied' Deputies To Withdraw From SPS

LD2406180292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1534 GMT 24 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, June 24 (TANJUG)—Ten deputies of the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS) have said they will withdraw from the SPS parliamentary group and form their own which will act within the SPS for the time being.

"Radical moves are indispensable at this hour. No policy changes are possible without major personnel changes," Jovan Cvetkovic, an SPS deputy from the town of Svetozarevo, stated to TANJUG on Wednesday [24 June].

Cvetkovic said that the dissatisfied SPS deputies felt that early elections at all levels and a dialogue with all political forces, with a view to avoding a civil war in Serbia, were preconditions for the termination of the U.N. blockade of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The group of ten deputies on Tuesday called for the resignation of Serbia's Prime Minister Radoman Bozovic and his cabinet, thus joining an initiative of a group of 30 deputies for a vote of confidence in the republican government.

"Before early elections [words indistinct], it is necessary to form a government of capable individuals, regardless of their party affiliation," Cvetkovic said.

Commenting the opposition's calls for the replacement of the president of Serbia's parliament, Aleksandar Bakocevic, Cvetkovic said that it was Bakocevic's "moral duty" to resign, "because he does not have the assembly's support."

Cvetkovic said he doubted that any positive changes would take place at the Socialist Party of Serbia congress in October, and specified that the individuals who were the most responsible for preventing changes were members of the highest party leadership "which takes all decisions by itself."

The fate of the initiative of disenchanted SPS deputies for the forming of a new, social-democratic party is uncertain for the time being, because it has not met with the approval of all SPS "dissidents", some of whom feel that positive changes could take place at the party congress in October.

Effect of Sanctions on Health Services 'Dramatic'

92BA1096B Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Jun 92 p 9

[Article by "O.P.": "Dramatic Situation in Health Care After Imposition of Sanctions: Supplies of Medicine and Anesthetics Running Out"]

[Text] *The Government of Serbia has set up an operative plan for functioning under the conditions created by the economic blockade.*

The conditions under which doctors and medical personnel at the University Clinical Center [UKC] in Belgrade have been working for months were already critical, but now, with the imposition of economic sanctions, the situation has become dramatic. This was the message from a meeting of the board of directors of the clinics and institutes of the University Clinical Center, where it was also warned that employees of the UKC are morally and professionally unable to bear responsibility for the consequences, and that they do not feel that they are to blame for the new situation.

At Belgrade's Emergency Center—which, because of the nature of its work and its large number of patients, has thus far occupied a special position where even when there is nothing "there must be something for them"—the shortages are beginning to be felt.

"For now, we can still do our work, but our supplies are running out. We are all wondering what will happen in a day or two. The most serious situation is with reagents, with spare parts for x-ray equipment, ultrasound, scanners.... Supplies of medicines and anesthetics are also running out," says the chief of staff, Dr. Rade Vasilic, the assistant director of the Emergency Center.

Only the most urgent cases are being treated at the Emergency Center. The wounded are also being given priority. More than 60 such people have arrived over the past six or seven days alone.

According to Dr. Vasilic, the number of days that patients can stay in the wards is also being reduced. Increasingly, patients from Belgrade are being sent home to recover following operations, and they come to the Emergency Center only to have their stitches removed. People remain in the internal-medicine and surgical wards for an average

of seven or eight days. Nevertheless, we have not yet had anyone come back, Dr. Vasilic says.

The doctors will very soon find themselves in a position where they do not know how to explain this serious situation to patients. "As it stands right now, we will be left to treat people with our stethoscopes alone," says Dr. Vasilic.

The Government of Serbia has enacted an operative plan for functioning under the conditions created by the economic sanctions. The Ministry of Health has formed a crisis staff as well as operative bodies at all health institutions. Solutions are being sought, and the plan specifies what areas are to be accorded priority. These areas are primarily mandatory vaccinations, emergency aid outside hospitals, care for pregnant women, those who have just given birth, children and youth, and health care for the chronically ill for whom this is indispensable.

Kosovo

Serbian Police Leave Pristina Islamic Seminary

AU2506205392 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1730 GMT 25 Jun 92

[Text] Reports from Pristina inform us that Serbian police today left Pristina's Alaudin Islamic Seminary, which they had kept surrounded since the night of 22-23 June to obstruct the founding meeting of the first multiparty and democratic parliament of Kosovo. The meeting was intended to be held at the premises of the Islamic Seminary because the Serbian rulers have blocked and occupied the Kosovo Assembly building since the beginning of July 1990. During their occupation and stay in the Islamic Seminary, the police destroyed the premises. They turned over many things; broke doors, cupboards, and furniture; and raided medicines, drinks, and food articles from the school dormitory.